

FROM BIG HOUSE TO LONGHOUSE:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE DELAWARE SKIN DANCE

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FROM BIG HOUSE TO LONGHOUSE:
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This dissertation addresses continuity and change of the Delaware Skin Dance, a dance accompanied by a number of short songs that the Haudenosaunee adopted from the Delaware. Once used ceremonially, today the dance is integrated into Haudenosaunee social dance practice; although the songs comprise a large percentage of living Delaware music, they are no longer known to Delaware people, making them of interest to those wishing to revitalize them in their respective communities. Through analysis of recordings, participant observation, and interviews with Haudenosaunee singers, dancers, and elders, the author explores the oral history, perpetuation, and significance of the Delaware Skin Dance and highlights the complex relationship between the Haudenosaunee, the Delaware, and their music. The author identifies the most significant change in the dance as its shift in function. Based on Iroquois oral history gathered through interviews, she argues that the Delaware Skin Dance was once used for ceremonial purposes. Through comparison with Delaware Big House songs, she suggests the dance likely possesses connections to the Delaware Big House ceremony. She finds that Iroquois satellite communities where Delaware people found refuge allowed a degree of freedom favorable to continued practice of their musical traditions that eventually allowed them to pass the songs to the Haudenosaunee. The author explains that the soundscape in contemporary Longhouses has much in common with the ancient sonic environment of the Delaware Big

House, although performance spaces outside the Longhouse have changed drastically. Through analysis of Delaware Skin Dance recordings, the author demonstrates diversity in song lyrics, melodic embellishments, and repertoire held by Iroquois singers. She discusses Delaware people's interest in the Delaware Skin Dance and the commencement of efforts to relearn the songs. The author outlines a project of revivalistic musical revitalization that could lead toward renewal of Delaware music and identity, strengthening of intercommunity relations, and advancement of ethnogenesis and decolonization.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Susan M. Taffe Reed was born in Towanda, located in the Endless Mountains of Northeastern Pennsylvania. She is Turtle Clan and of Delaware, Irish, and German descent. She holds a Bachelor of Arts from Colgate University in Hamilton, New York, where she majored in Music and Native American studies, a Master of Arts from Cornell University, and a Ph.D. in Musicology from Cornell University where she focused in Ethnomusicology and minored in American Indian Studies. Susan is a student of the Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheshkoolhaaluweesak Eehakehkiingeewaniikaan (The Lunaape Speakers Teacher's Academy) and is active in Munsee Delaware language revitalization. In 2011, she took up a postdoctoral position in the Department of Music at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill under the Carolina Postdoctoral Program for Faculty Diversity.

eelu weemu eelaangoomayeengw

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PREFACE

Yo weemu aween. Nii ndushiinzi Takwax. Nii ndulunaapeewi waak naawalootamun takwax. Nii ndulaangoomaaw Changamoxwush. Nii noonjiyayi amangaawungeekiilung kiixkii Wyalusing waak Towanda, kiixkii Susquehanna Siipu Loowaneewung.

Hello everyone. My name is Turtle. I am Delaware and I am turtle clan. I am related to Little Beaver. I come from the mountains near Wyalusing and Towanda, near the North Branch of the Susquehanna River.

My Delaware ancestors came from remnant, refugee populations, that remained in the mountains of Northeastern Pennsylvania; the rest of my ancestry is of European decent. I position myself as an Indigenous woman through my ancestry and cultural upbringing. I also have a great deal of respect for my German and Irish ancestors and wish to honor them as well. I was raised on the trap-line with my father and grandfather, catching my first furbearer — a least weasel¹ — at the age of three. I would often go hunting or check traps with my father before school and skin, take dried beaver hides off boards, or turn drying fox hides after school. Our diet was comprised largely by the wild game we hunted. Life in the mountains is what my family and the other families in my community know, and we value our ancestral knowledge and stories of the places surrounding us. While we were able to maintain our connection with the land through hunting, trapping, and fishing, which continue to be mainstays in the sustenance of many families, we lost much of our language, music, and other culture.

By the early 1980s, a revival of traditional culture was well underway among Natives in

¹ The least weasel is the smallest species of weasel. Resembling other species, it has a long body with short legs and is noted for its ability to kill animals many times its own weight.

Pennsylvania. Because of the intense racism they had witnessed, some elders refused to speak about their family's history; some individuals still do. The cultural fragments those individuals possessed died with them. I had a difficult time understanding this as a child, but as I entered school and gained more experience in life, I began to understand why. There were other elders who worked to bring Pennsylvania's Delaware people together through piecing together cultural teachings and organizing powwows, gatherings that feature Native music, dance, food, and material culture. I started fancy shawl dancing around the age of five and later became a traditional dancer, frequenting powwows every weekend of the summer and serving as the Eastern Delaware Nations Princess 1999-2000.

Throughout my youth, I was ever conscious of the deep connections I believed existed between my identity as a hunter and trapper with my participation in music and dance. Over the years, I have used materials from the animals I harvested to make different pieces of my dance regalia. For example, when I was about seven years old I used the wings from a woodcock my father and I had brought home to create a butterfly-style hair barrette. Most recently I attached several turkey beards from gobblers I have killed in over the past couple years to my Traditional Dance regalia. These decorations not only ornament my outfit, they also identify part of who I am through representing my experiences. They also honor my relationship with other living beings, particularly my connection to animal life. Although the majority of American Indian music I grew up surrounded by was powwow songs, and not particularly Delaware in origin, the sound of the drum, the songs, and dancing was powerful to me because it helped me feel rooted in the place where I come from.

When I was about six years old I attended a social dance at the now closed Turtle Building in Niagara Falls, New York. Thereafter my curiosity about the dance was sparked

every time I attended a social dance. I wondered, “How did the Iroquois get a *Delaware* dance?” And, “What does the name ‘*Delaware Skin Dance*’ really mean?” In researching the former question, my appreciation for the complexity of the Delaware diaspora and our connections with other Native people has grown immensely. Through learning about the latter question, I was drawn back to the teachings I learned while hunting and trapping, regarding the vital relationship between human persons and animal persons. Because my attendance at socials was infrequent, I never remembered any of the songs, but hoped someday to learn more about them. Thus, interest in my dissertation topic budded long before my doctoral education commenced and motivation for my study is both academically and personally driven.

I have put a great deal of thought into why I should research and write about the Delaware Skin Dance. In the academic Western tradition, writing is the hub of communication and transmission of knowledge. This approach stands in contrast with Indigenous oral traditions. Writing has had both positive and negative impacts on Native communities. Increasingly, however, Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars are leveraging the power of the written word to work for Indigenous people in a multitude of ways, be it toward political action or education. My intent in writing this dissertation is to fill a gap in ethnomusicological and American Indian scholarship on Delaware and Haudenosaunee music; I approach this charge through the established method used in these fields — writing. My wish is that in doing so, this information will become available to scholars as well as Native and non-Native individuals who might not otherwise be able to access it. In addition to English language, I also try to balance my work through use of Munsee Delaware terminology; simultaneously, I am careful to avoid ascribing Delaware terminology to specifically Iroquois concepts.

Munsee Delaware Language Usage

Munsee Delaware language is used throughout this text because language holds valuable perspectives on worldview, identity, and culture. My use of Munsee is also meant as a step toward representing and articulating ourselves in the language. Many words can be broken down to a root and connective parts, each of which contributes to the word's meaning. Analyzing our language reveals the richness and beauty of the Delaware worldview and I believe it can also teach us a great deal about how our ancestors thought about music.

The initial occurrence of a Munsee word in this text is followed by its translation. Words and an accompanying pronunciation guide are listed in the glossary in Appendix C.

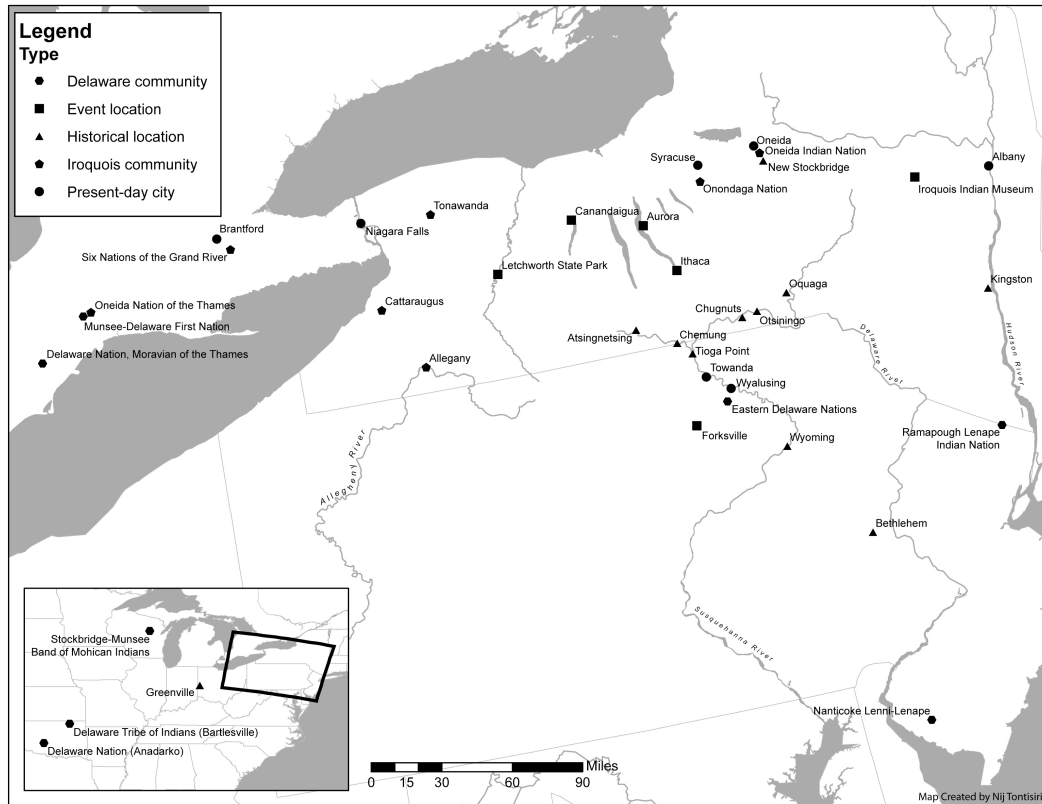


Figure 1.1: Map of Delaware and Iroquois Communities, Events, and Historical Locations Discussed in the Text.² *Drawn by Nij Tontisirin*

² Please note: This map does not show all Delaware and Iroquois communities. Some locations marked as present-day cities are also the sites of historical locations referred to in the text.

INTRODUCTION

Colonization of the Americas has significantly influenced American Indian musical traditions, evolving from European colonizers' attempts to control the physical and cultural state of Native America through decimation, relocation, and assimilation of American Indian populations. The repercussions of colonization reverberate in the loss of songs, dances, and ceremonies. Charlotte Heth, an ethnomusicologist, writes, "[The] widespread destruction and dislocation of tribes and their cultures affected music and dance greatly" (Heth 1992, 4,7).

The Delaware Skin Dance is an example that demonstrates musical displacement in the midst of colonization's multifaceted consequences. The dance's unique history spans origins among the Delaware people whose homelands occupied parts of present day New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, through its transmission to their northern neighbors, Haudenosaunee people whose communities harbored Delaware refugees.

Little has been written about the Delaware Skin Dance; consequently, the importance of this dance and what it represents have largely been overlooked in academic scholarship, although it continues to be a popular favorite at Iroquois social dances. Although not performed by contemporary Delaware people, the numerous short songs that accompany the dance survive as perhaps one of the largest and oldest bodies of Delaware music in existence.

I seek to better understand continuity and change in American Indian music through the particular lens of the Delaware Skin Dance. In what ways have continuity and change been managed by Native people? In what ways has colonization contributed to shaping American Indian music history? In particular, I highlight the vitality and resilience of Native American musical traditions through study of the Haudenosaunee's adoption of the Delaware Skin Dance.

The Delaware Skin Dance plays a significant role in present-day Haudenosaunee social dancing. Contemporary Iroquois signers inherited the dance from their ancestors, who passed the songs down, generation after generation. Most academic scholarship of Haudenosaunee music focuses on songs of native origin, only peripherally mentioning the integration of foreign songs and dances into the Iroquois' vast repertory of songs. Thus, little has been written about the Delaware Skin Dance and its fascinating history. My aim in filling this gap in scholarly literature is threefold. First, I seek to enrich our knowledge of contemporary and historical Haudenosaunee musical culture. Second, I want to deepen our understanding of Delaware music and the Delaware's complex relationship with the Haudenosaunee. Lastly, I consider the Delaware Skin Dance's functional transformation from ceremonial music into social music as its performance context changed and its ritual function was set aside.

In this dissertation, I weave voices of Haudenosaunee singers, dancers, and elders from communities in Upstate New York and Ontario who helped me learn about contemporary Delaware Skin Dance performance and its oral history. I also present perspectives of Delaware people seeking to bring the songs to life in their communities. In analyzing contemporary Haudenosaunee performance practice, I focus on specific examples from my fieldwork at social dances. My fieldwork methodology consists of two main approaches: interviews and participant observation. I interviewed singers and other individuals knowledgeable in traditional Iroquois culture and I participated in Haudenosaunee social dances. Being a participant observer fits the goals of what I hope to accomplish, because not only do I want to learn about the Delaware Skin Dance, I also want to learn to dance it. Participating, modeling others, and listening to others are the customary ways of learning in Native cultures. It is the way I learned fancy shawl dancing and traditional dancing when I was a child. As a participant observer learning to dance the

Delaware Skin Dance, I saw myself taking a step back in time, learning the dance the way I remember learning years ago. I took audio and video recordings of social dances held in public spaces outside the Longhouse and taped interviews with Haudenosaunee and Delaware people, with their permission, to aid my analysis. I have been taught that offering tobacco is the proper protocol for asking for someone's help, knowledge, or assistance. I offered individuals tobacco when asking for their participation in this project. I expressed my personal reasons—as a person of Delaware ancestry—and academic reasons—as a scholar in the fields of ethnomusicology and American Indian studies—for wanting to learn about the Delaware Skin Dance. At times this was not easy for me to articulate because my personal motivations for seeking information about the dance were born long before my identity as a scholar took shape. Topics like the Delaware Skin Dance, which resonate with my personal background, are what captivated my interest in pursuing graduate education in ethnomusicology. As this project grew, I became more comfortable balancing my academic training with my personal background and articulating why I am so passionate about learning and writing about the Delaware Skin Dance.

I am grateful to all who helped me with this project. I thank them for their openness to share their teachings with me and for their permission to share this knowledge in my dissertation. During interviews, I asked my collaborators to tell me about their familiarity with the Delaware Skin Dance, such as how they learned the dance and how it is used in social dances. Many of them initially told me they did not know much, but as we talked and I asked more specific questions they demonstrated a great deal of knowledge. There are at least three reasons why I believe traditionally knowledgeable individuals did not assert their expertise on the dance, even though they grew up singing and dancing it.

First, because they know the Delaware Skin Dance is not originally Iroquois, they may

feel as though they possess less ownership of it and less knowledge about it than they do of their own dances. Traditional Haudenosaunee people possess specific teachings on their dances, particularly those used in ceremonies, and an understanding of how those dances fit into their broader history and culture. Their knowledge of the Delaware Skin Dance probably dwarfs in comparison with the teachings associated with some of these other dances.

Second, Iroquois philosophy honors the dynamic nature of their oral history and cultural knowledge. Elders are held in high esteem as knowledgeable culture bearers and teachers. It is not uncommon, however, for elders—especially those who come from different communities—to tell somewhat different versions of the same story, to sing songs slightly differently, or to hold differences in their understanding of cultural teachings. For the most part, Iroquois people do not view these differences as inconsistencies; rather, they are understood as elements that lend to the richness of Iroquois culture. During my fieldwork for this project, I encountered several individuals who were eager to share their knowledge of the Delaware Skin Dance with me, but who were apprehensive about the possibility that their oral history of the dance might not match the teachings offered me by someone else and that because of this, their contributions might undercut someone else's. While most of the people who contributed to this work are identified by name, with their permission, there are also a few whose anonymity I keep due to the aforementioned concern. Academic scholarship's ability to appropriately work with and present the complexity of oral history is a particularly valid concern for Indigenous people. It is one that I do my best to manage by asking readers to consider multiple, dynamic cultural understandings. While the oral accounts shared by my collaborators differed somewhat, for the most part variations were only in the details and are presented here as a collective mosaic.

Third, Iroquois people have great respect for their elders, who are their educators. Young

people privilege their elders' experience and knowledge over their own because elders are the bearers of traditional knowledge. While learning about Iroquois elders' understanding of the Delaware Skin Dance was invaluable to this project, I also wanted to learn about young people's perspectives on why they enjoy it and what it means to them. While they were eager to share this with me, they often pointed me in the direction of parents or other respected individuals who they thought could give me more information. On one or two occasions I was given the name of a person, but was told to expect they might not want to help me. This concerned me, because my hope is that Haudenosaunee people view this project positively. It was encouraging that without fail every single person I approached about the dance turned out to be helpful and eager to share their knowledge with me, something that I think speaks to the generosity of Haudenosaunee people.

Haudenosaunee readers may find their own knowledge about the Delaware Skin Dance not represented here. I apologize for these unintentional omissions. I did not speak with every Iroquois singer or culturally knowledgeable person for this project; realistically that is impossible. I hope to continue my relationship with Haudenosaunee individuals who contributed to my work and talk to more individuals, because I want to keep learning more. In my writing, I do my best to accurately represent what others shared with me. Any mistakes herein are fully my own and I take responsibility for them.

History of the Delaware people has been a narrative of displacement and dispersal, the result of which has had devastating effects on their population and culture—particularly language and music—since their first encounters with Europeans. The Delaware were one of the first tribes to have contact with them and they received the brunt of colonization as newcomers settled the coast, scattering their population and pushing them increasingly westward.

In the Munsee Delaware dialect, the word *lunaapeew* refers to an Indian, or Delaware person. The name Lenape is often synonymously linked with the name Delaware; however, the name Delaware actually encompasses a broader population of Algonquian people. The Delaware River was named for the first governor of Virginia, Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, and the name Delaware was applied to Algonquian people living in and around the Delaware River Valley at the beginning of the 17th century (Goddard 1978, 235). While they were culturally similar and spoke related Algonquian languages, blanket application of the name “Delaware” to a number of separate Algonquian groups was problematic then and is the root of misunderstandings surrounding Delaware populations today because it implies that this historically heterogeneous population, comprised of people with varying degrees of political unification, was or is homogenous. In the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Goddard writes:

The groups here treated together never formed a single political unit, and the name Delaware, which was first applied only to the Indians of the middle Delaware Valley, was extended to cover all of these groups only after they had migrated away from their eastern homelands... These smallest units could at times act independently, for example by disassociating themselves from the hostile acts of their neighbors and making peace on their own. On the other hand, the cooperation of a number of local groups is evident in connection with hunting drives, mutual defense, and diplomatic relations with the Iroquois and the Europeans. (Goddard 1978, 213, 216)

Major subgroups encompassed by the name “Delaware” include: Forks Indians, Manhattan, Munsee, Savanoos, Southern Unami, Unalachtigo, Unalimi, and Unami (Goddard 1978, 236-237). In the seventeenth century, the Delaware lived in approximately forty villages of a few hundred members each, with a total population of approximately 8,000-12,000 people (Goddard 1978, 213). They were called “Grandfather” people by nearly forty tribes (Heckewelder 1991 [1876], xli). We know of three Delaware clans: turtle, turkey, and wolf. The Delaware spoke Munsee and Unami dialects, closely related Eastern Algonquian languages (Grumet 2009, 3).

The Munsee-speaking bands, who lived to the north in northern New Jersey, in southeastern New York, and in another cluster east of the Hudson include: Canarsee, Esopus, Hackensack, Haverstraw, Highland Indians, Kichtawank, Matinecock, Massapequa, Minisink, Navasink, Nochpeem, Raritan, Rechgawawank, Rockaway, Sinsink, Siwanoy, Staten Island Indians, Tankitekes, Tappan, Waoranecks, Wappinger, Warranawankongs, and Wiechquaeskeck; Unami-speaking bands, who lived south of the Delaware Water Gap and the Raritan Valley include: Armewamex, Atsayonck, Big Siconese, Brandywine Indians, Little Siconese, Mantaes, Naraticonck, Okehocking, Remkokes, Sankhikan, Schuylkill Indians, and Sewapois (Goddard 1978, 213-215, 237-238). A third, lesser-mentioned linguistic and geographical division of Delaware stock, were the Unalachtigo of southern New Jersey (Speck and Peters 1945). “These old geographical distinctions are no longer observed by the existing bands of Delaware descendants in Canada and the United States,” writes Speck, “It is indeed difficult to find individuals among them who can discuss these names nowadays” (Speck and Peters 1945). The rich individual histories of these groups is challenging to extract and recent scholarship is just beginning to tackle this problem, such as Grumet’s work in *The Munsee Indians: A History*, where he writes:

In the past, lumping Munsees together with Delawares or Mohicans has been seen as a harmless way to more clearly present a complex cast of characters embedded in a complicated narrative. The result, however, is most like what would happen if colonial historians lumped Dutch, English, and Palatine German settlers together as a single Germanic people. The effect of such lumping has robbed Munsees of their identity and blotted out memory of the part they played in the early history of America. Most of their present-day descendants probably regard this with little more than a rueful shrug of weary recognition. It may also be that their ancestors had a hand in cultivating this attitude. Caught between powerful nations intent on taking their lands, lives, and livelihoods, these never-populous but determinedly self-reliant people have long recognized the value of maintaining a low profile. (Grumet 2009, 7)

Here, Grumet references the Munsee’s adaptability to change and the power of transformation in

aiding refugee survival, a technique also used by other Algonquian groups and that is vital in our consideration of their musical traditions.

Because I see past grouping of Algonquian people under the blanket term “Delaware” as an important issue that needs to be dealt with, one might wonder why I continue the legacy by using the name “Delaware” in my work. The reason is two-fold: first, in researching the oral Iroquois history of the Delaware Skin Dance in comparison with the historical record of Delaware people seeking sanctuary among the Haudenosaunee, it is not clearly distinguishable from which group the songs originated. It is possible that individual songs originated from people of different bands or that the songs came from Delaware refugees whose ancestry came from multiple bands. Therefore, the name Delaware is the most specific term I can safely use in naming the people who passed the Delaware Skin Dance on to the Iroquois. Secondly, Iroquois people use the name “Delaware” when referring to the people who gave them the songs and who lived among them and use the name “Delaware Skin Dance” to refer to the dance that they received. For these reasons, I have come to use a term that is fraught with problems, but that I believe is the best name to use when referring to the mixed Algonquian populations who were labeled with this name.

I use the names Haudenosaunee, Iroquois, and Six Nations interchangeably to refer to the confederacy of Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Tuscarora people.³ The term “Iroquoian” refers not only to the Iroquois, but also to other Iroquoian-speaking groups, like the Susquehannock, Huron, Neutral, and Erie. While the term “Iroquoia” can be used to refer to the

³ The name “Iroquois” originally referred to the Five Nations—Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk—who became the Six Nations after the Oneida sponsored the Tuscarora for incorporation into the Iroquois League in 1722.

territories of Iroquoian peoples concentrated in present-day New York State, Ontario, and Quebec, I focus its use on the Haudenosaunee homelands specifically, as well as the philosophies and culture Iroquois people connect with this land.

The reader should also note that I use the names Native American, Native, and American Indian synonymously; I also use the term Indigenous, by which I refer to the broader population of First Peoples across the globe.

Core scholarship on the Delaware that involved direct fieldwork and interactions with them occurred in the early twentieth century when academics, particularly anthropologists, could still locate handfuls of fluent Delaware speakers. Their work also referenced primary documents, such as early journals (Speck and Peters 1945; Harrington 1921, 249; Speck, Witapanóxwe and Pennsylvania Historical Commission 1931, 4). Besides the work of Grumet on the Delaware Big House Ceremony (Grumet 2001), little academic scholarship of a cultural nature has been published on the Delaware since the 1970s. Recent scholarly work tends to focus on some aspect of Delaware history, such as Amy Schutt's 2007 book *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* and Katherine Faull's latest research on Moravian interactions with the Delaware at Friedenshütten, along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, near present day Wyalusing.

Many aspects of Delaware culture and history are well studied. Scholarship on Delaware music is an exception. I am aware of only one scholarly ethnomusicological contribution on Delaware music—*Songs of Our Grandfathers: Music of the Unami Delaware Indians*, a well written and researched but not widely known master's thesis by Robert Harold Adams (Adams 1977). This work, however, is on the Unami Delaware music in Oklahoma. Although more has been written on Haudenosaunee music, the Delaware Skin Dance is infrequently mentioned in

academic literature. The sole transcription and ethnomusicological study of this dance is found in Gertrude P. Kurath's *Iroquois Music and Dance: Ceremonial Arts of Two Seneca Longhouses*; however, it lacks the ethnomusicological analysis she provides Haudenosaunee music (Kurath 1964, 255). She refers to the dance as the "Delaware Skin Beating Dance," which she transcribes from Jesse Cornplanter's singing. The Delaware Skin Dance is also mentioned by Speck in *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House* and in the liner notes for a record produced by Irocrafts in Ohsweken, Ontario titled *Iroquois Social Dance Songs*, in 1969. Speck's work, particularly *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth* remains the best scholarship on Munsee culture and ceremonial life, although it does not provide song transcriptions (Speck and Peters 1945). My work is spurred by this gap in the literature and belief that the Delaware Skin Dance requires study because of the wealth of information it holds about Delaware and Haudenosaunee history and culture.

Throughout this dissertation, I include Munsee Delaware terminology. To my knowledge, there is no academic research outside linguistics that has engaged Munsee Delaware language except for anthropologist Frank G. Speck's (1881-1950) *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth: The Bear Sacrifice Ceremony of the Munsee-Mahican in Canada as Related by Nekatcit*. The Unami dialect of Delaware is present in the work of anthropologists such as M. R. Harrington (1882-1971) and in Robert H. Adam's master's thesis. This scholarship, however, was conducted when a number of fluent speakers were still living.

Among current scholars working with Algonquian and Iroquoian music, I find inspiration in the work of Beverly Diamond, Memorial University of Newfoundland, particularly in her research of the organology of First Nations' instruments (Diamond, Cronk and Von Rosen 1994). Although her research does not focus on the Delaware Skin Drum, which is an important

aspect of this work, her writing on Native American organology has influenced the way I approach my study. I also admire the work of Jason Jackson, Indiana University Bloomington, and Victoria Levine, Colorado College, who have researched social dances in Oklahoma. In 2002 they published “Singing for Garfish: Music and Woodland Communities in Eastern Oklahoma” and they continue to work with tracking patterns of social dance songs performed among various Native communities in Oklahoma. Their documentation of which songs are sung in which communities and how songs have been share through pan-Indian exchange speaks to my own work, particularly my study of continuity and change. I also see my work as building on that of earlier scholars whose work etched out the study has Iroquois and Delaware music, such as Gertrude Prokosch Kurath, Willaim N. Fenton, M. R. Harrington, and Frank G. Speck.

My work navigates in and between the fields of Ethnomusicology and American Indian studies. In both fields, scholars work from a cultural and historical perspective to understand the problem of continuity and change in their research. Because influences of change, through forced assimilation and colonization, have had such drastic impacts on the lives and cultures of American Indian people, its effects must be considered in any study of contemporary Native American music. The field of Ethnomusicology has largely concerned itself with processes of change more than with the content of change in history (Nettl 2005, 274). The existence of musical traditions that are perfectly preserved and that remain magically undisturbed by time are pure myth. In order to understand music from an historical perspective, it is important to recognize that all music undergoes a certain degree of constant change (Nettl 2005, 275)—if it does not, then it is dead.

The goal of my work is to understand how Native American musical traditions have experienced both patterns of continuity and periods of change. I focus my study on a specific

example, the Delaware Skin Dance, which provides a nice illustration of continuity and change in American Indian music. Continuity and change are central conversations in the field of ethnomusicology, as in Bruno Nettl's "The Continuity of Change: On People Changing Their Music" in *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, and in American Indian Studies, as in Duane Champagne's *Social Change and Cultural Continuity Among Native Nations* (Nettl 2005; Champagne 2007). The theoretical problem of how to see change over time is also explored by fiction and poetry writers in American Indian Studies, for example, Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerald Vizenor, Simon J. Ortiz, Luci Tapahonso, and Esther G. Belin (Silko 1981; Vizenor 1990; Ortiz 1992; Tapahonso 1997; Belin 1999).

I use the Delaware Skin Dance as a lens with which to examine continuity and change in Northeastern, specifically Delaware and Haudenosaunee, music. In each chapter, I approach the topic from a different angle. In Chapter One, I look at continuity and change from contemporary perspective; in Chapter Two, I look at more historical continuity and change through speculating how music changed during the colonial and revolutionary periods; in Chapter Three, I examine continuity and change through music and lyric analysis; and in Chapter Four, I propose revivalistic musical revitalization as a positive form of change that can work toward Delaware cultural and ethnic renewal. My research of the Delaware Skin Dance is propelled by the glimmer that these songs might someday come into Delaware use again.

CHAPTER 1

THE DELAWARE SKIN DANCE IN CONTEMPORARY HAUDENOSAUNEE SOCIAL DANCING

Over the years I have attended several Socials at the Oneida Longhouse, near Oneida, New York. In May 2010, I arrived before the Social on the Oneida Indian Nation Territory, near Oneida, New York, and found Wesley Halsey and his mother standing outside her home on the territory. Wesley and I talked about the Delaware Skin Dance outside, under a pavilion near the Longhouse. Then we made our way to the Cookhouse, a community building located across the street from the Longhouse where food is prepared and served. Several people I have met over the years welcomed me. Before dinner we socialized and I was shown the wild strawberry flowers growing nearby. I learned that the month of June is called the “strawberry moon” in the Oneida language, just as it is in Munsee Delaware. Inside the community center I sat with Wesley’s family and had dinner.

After dinner, it was time for the Social. There were a lot of young adults and little kids there; everyone participated. Mid-way through the social a hot air balloon was seen in the sky. It landed just up the road from the Longhouse and attracted the attention of the children. We went outside to see it while the singing and dancing continued. The Delaware Skin Dance was performed last. There were no male dancers to lead the line, so all of us women and girls lined up together. The men sat straddling the two center wooden benches, which showed wear from previous use, and struck wooden sticks on them to keep the beat. Even little boys only a couple years old joined in the singing as the women danced counterclockwise around the Longhouse.

Contemporary Performance

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “performance” as: “The accomplishment or carrying out of something commanded or undertaken; the doing of an action or operation; the action of performing a play, piece of music, [or] ceremony,” among several other definitions (*Oxford English Dictionary* [Electronic Resource]). I use the term “performance” throughout my work to refer to the act of social dancing, whether it is in front of an audience or in the Longhouse. I also use it to indicate that the efforts of singing and dancing are productive in the transformative work they undertake, such as giving thanks, creating community, cultural affirmation, and prayer.

Individuals who participate in social dances through singing and dancing, however, probably do not refer to themselves as “performers,” even in situations where they are singing and dancing in front of an audience. I use their self-designated terminology—“singer” and “dancer”—to refer to them.

Performance is the very lifeblood of music and dance; it keeps it dynamic, responsive, and ever changing. Singing and dancing play important roles in representation and identity on the individual, community, and broader national levels. Performance can also be a unifying factor among participants.

Social dances play a great educational role, both for the participants and, when performed in public spaces, for the audience. For audiences, performances can help break through stereotypes by educating people. Singers and dancers learn through personal experience by observing their elders. As their cultural proficiency increases with age, they prepare to be the next generation of culture bearers.

A topic brought up in an interview by Scott Marcus and Ted Solís with Ali Jihad Racy, published in *Performing Ethnomusicology: Teaching and Representation in World Music Ensembles*, regards teaching students music that does not stem from their native culture. Ali Jihad Racy, a professor of ethnomusicology who was born in Lebanon and is a specialist in Middle Eastern music, states, “One question is: Are [students] in fact hearing the neutral interval as a flat note, as being ‘minor-ish’? Or, do they hear it properly but cannot play it as such because some acquired control mechanism is holding them back? Are their minds ‘correcting’ the intervals by fitting them to a familiar intonational paradigm?” (Solís 2004, 158-9). I believe Racy’s concern underscores the importance of the participants in an Indigenous culture immersing their young people in their musical culture from a young age so that, like a language, it becomes their “first music.” Whether young Iroquois singers can fluently reproduce what they hear or whether they must first overcome “intonational paradigms” that have become familiar through listening to other kinds of music—be it Native music from other nations, opera, or rap, for example—will be a significant factor in continuity and change in the music over time as it is passed to younger generations.

Haudenosaunee social dances are considered non-ceremonial gatherings that can be shared with everyone. Native and non-Native men and women of different ages, nations, and dancing abilities participate. When social dances are held for public demonstration at schools and festivals, the crowd is often invited to join in the dancing, which is in celebration of life, of people coming together, and for the purpose of educating the public in order to foster greater appreciation and a deeper understanding of Haudenosaunee culture among the non-Native community. Even at social dances in the Longhouse, which are not publically advertised, non-Haudenosaunee people (like myself) are invited to attend and participate. In Haudenosaunee

communities, social dances work to bring the community together and they support ceremonies that take place over the year, like the Maple Syrup, Green Corn, and Mid Winter Festivals (Speck 1995, Native Drums 2008, Morgan 1851:192).

Iroquois people draw clear distinctions between “social” events—which are generally open to non-Iroquois people—and “ceremonial” events—held for Iroquois people or by invitation. Ceremonial songs, such as those used during the Iroquois’ calendrical ritual observances, are not taken outside of the Longhouse. Social dance songs, on the other hand, can be taken into public spaces and the Iroquois consider the Delaware Skin Dance to be in this category of songs. Given its present function, the Delaware Skin Dance would not be used in Iroquois ceremonies today (Halsey 2010). Iroquois sacred and secular musical categories are fairly immutable, although over time some ceremonial music has become social, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Here, I provide examples of contemporary social dances taken from my fieldwork journal entries that paint a picture of when, where, and how the Delaware Skin Dance is currently performed. Many of these performances took place at publicly advertised events at schools and festivals.

One example of a public event is the Annual Iroquois Indian Festival at the Iroquois Indian Museum in Howes Cave, New York. In 2010, I attended their 29th annual festival, held on Labor Day weekend. The Sky Dancers, from Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario, performed traditional Iroquois social dances in the Museum’s outdoor covered amphitheater. Another public event is Native American Heritage Day at Letchworth State Park near Castile, New York, where, in September of 2010, Iroquois singer Solon Spruce, his father Derlan Spruce, and several other male and female dancers demonstrated Iroquois social dancing. Public events such as these are geared toward educating the public on Haudenosaunee music and dance, dress,

and general culture. In addition to observing dances, the public is sometimes invited to participate in dances, view demonstrations, hear storytelling, and purchase Native American arts, crafts, and food.

Perhaps the largest public social dance I have attended was on 11 November 2010, annually a special day for Haudenosaunee people because it is the day they and non-Native people come together to commemorate the Canandaigua Treaty. Among the singers at the Social, held at the Canandaigua Elementary School, were Bill Crouse, Chris Thomas, and a number of others, from toddler boys to elder men. Almost everyone at the Social danced, creating a long line of dancers that circled the gymnasium with two and even three rows for some dances. Although the public was in attendance, this social dance had a different flavor, probably because the majority of people in attendance were Haudenosaunee and was not accompanied by the usual informational presentation that is given preceding each song during public performance. As I danced, I looked around at other dancers, seeing elderly folk who from their dance moves looked like they were probably great dancers in their youth. There were teenagers too, some of whom I have seen dance in Smoke Dance competitions. And there were members of the non-Native community, who carefully watched the steps of the dancers in front of them and imitated their movements. The Delaware Skin Dance was danced last. It lasted a little over five minutes, shorter than the twenty or so minutes it often lasts. Faster songs were inserted after the first four or five slow songs and then fast and slow songs alternated. Unlike some socials where the last song of the night is sung and danced at race speed, the last song at this Social was a slower song.

At the beginning of every Social held in the Longhouse, a speaker stands up and orates in his or her Native language. The speaker announces the Native name of the person who will be

singing for that occasion (Halsey 2010). Other singers who are in attendance join that singer.

A social is run by a "house keeper" or "pusher." The job of the "house keepers" is to find lead singers and to know which songs that each lead singer knows. Their job also includes finding lead dancers for the upcoming dance. He then goes to the announcer with the information. All dances are introduced in the Iroquois language of the speaker. In some instances, instructions are provided to ensure that dances are carried out properly. (Ohwejagehka: Ha'degaenage 1999)

Haudenosaunee singers have an important role as performers at the Social and as the bearers of traditional knowledge in their communities; they are at the heart of keeping songs, like the Delaware Skin Dance, alive in their respective communities. As bearers of these songs, generations of singers can be credited for preserving them and continuing their practice. Iroquois musicians are called "singers," not "drummers," as is used in pan-Indian culture to identify people who are members of a "drum"—in other words, individuals who sing and drum as a collective group on a large powwow drum and perform at powwows. The name "singer" fittingly describes their role as individuals who sing and who carry the songs.

Knowing songs and singing them is not exclusively a male practice in Haudenosaunee society, but most singers are men. Men and women sometimes sing together, although this is not common. When they do, they hold and play individual instruments (i.e., drums or rattles). There are well-known, highly respected women singers, such as Sadie Buck and Bear Fox, who are members of female singing groups, like the Six Nations Women Singers and the Ahkwesasne Women Singers, called *Kontiwennenhá:wi* (Carriers of the Words).

Haudenosaunee singers learn by being immersed in their culture and singing with their elders from an early age (Halsey 2010). Because young people learn the songs through an oral tradition, singers' repertoires are developed from those passed down to them. In comparing singers of different communities, a kind of singer genealogy can be traced based on the songs individuals sing and the slight stylistic variations between them and other singers. Today,

singers have the potential to be influenced by singers from many different communities, because technology allows them to listen to their favorite singers on iPods and computers. It is difficult to say how significantly this has increased singers' influences, because of the oft-overlooked fact that a great deal of communication existed between people from different communities in the past who, as they traveled back and forth, picked up and left songs.

Wesley Halsey is an Oneida singer in his early twenties who, like many young singers, listens to audio recordings in order to learn traditional songs. Wesley, who is Wolf Clan, is the son of Vicky Schenandoah and nephew of contemporary Native American singer Joanne Shenandoah. He has been around singing his whole life. He says, "When I was about thirteen or fourteen years old there were no other singers around in my community and I started listening to old tapes that my mom had. Some of the songs I knew, some of the songs I didn't. But once you start learning one you start learning them all really quickly" (Halsey 2010). Wesley's mother introduced him to performing. He credits his grandmother, the late Maisie Shenandoah, with instilling traditional teachings in his family. "She built this community [Oneida] in her younger days," he says, "She was down here with all her kids and made sure that every one of them knew they were Indian and knew their songs" (Halsey 2010). Maisie, a traditionalist and the Wolf Clan Mother at Oneida, was a well-known and highly respected woman. She was a long time friend of my family. I met her when I was about six years old. Later, Vicky began attending our community's powwow—the Eastern Delaware Nations Powwow in Forksville, Pennsylvania—where she has vended and shared Iroquois social dances. Wesley began singing publicly when he was about thirteen years old. In the past few years I have seen him sing at powwows, Socials, and festivals, such as the First People's Festival at Dewitt Park in Ithaca, New York in October 2010. On that occasion he sang for the Haudenosaunee Singers and Dancers, a dance troupe out

of the Onondaga Nation, located below Syracuse, New York. Recently, Wesley began singing for the weekly social dances at the Oneida Longhouse on the nation's territory in Upstate New York (Halsey 2010).



Illustration 1.1: Oneida singer Wesley Halsey; Iroquois Indian Museum, Howes Cave, New York; 2010 *Photo by Stephanie Marie, used with permission.*

Singers spend many years developing their art. Talented singers know a lot of songs and are able to recall them when needed. They are traditionally knowledgeable individuals who know the meaning of songs, their histories, and function. Good singers typically have strong

voices with a broad vocal range. Different singers' voices can be distinguished by their individual vocal timbre; when performing together, they do not match tone quality. Aesthetically, unique vocal qualities—be they smooth, nasal, rough, or scratchy—are all acceptable (as is throat clearing when necessary during performance). At times, particularly during the “response” to the lead singer’s “call,” the space within which two singers produce a pitch in unison and consider it the same pitch can be rather wide in range, perhaps as much as a half step.

When men sing together, the current singer passes the role of lead singer to the man on his right at the completion of the song; this responsibility moves counterclockwise through the circle of singers. When there are two singers, they alternate singing, with one taking the role of lead singer and the other responding to his calls. This is probably the most common way I have seen singers perform the Delaware Skin Dance. The dancers walk during the introduction to the next song and the singer determines which songs he will sing and in what order. Singers do not preplan the order in which they perform songs. Although singing for Socials is traditionally a group activity, singers perform alone if no other singer is present (Halsey 2010), as sometimes happens when they perform outside their communities. At larger socials, such as at the Social dance for the Canandaigua Treaty Commemoration, a number of men sing. The 1969 Delaware Skin Dance recording from *Iroquois Social Dance Songs*, produced by Irocrafts in Ohsweken, Ontario, is a good example of multiple men singing together (Irocrafts 1969).

Singers always sit in the center of the Longhouse. At public Socials, they sit in the center of the room or they sit or stand on the outside of the dancing area, depending on the performance space. For example, every year the American Indian Program at Cornell University hosts a social dance the evening before their Smoke Dance Competition. The Social is held in the

Townhouse Community Center, a large meeting room on-campus, and is attended by Native and non-Native students from Cornell University, the Ithaca community, and Haudenosaunee and other Native peoples from across New York State. Singers sit on chairs in the center of the room while dancers move around them in a circle. I attended Socials at Cornell University in 2007-10. Singers like Bill Crouse, Chris Thomas, Solon Spruce, and Wesley Halsey frequently sing at these socials and are joined by others, many of them teenagers and men in their early twenties. At Socials outside the Longhouse like this one, I ask singers' permission to record the Delaware Skin Dance. Recording it over several years at events frequented by the same singers has produced audio recordings that allow me to compare different performances of the dance.



Illustration 1.2: The Delaware Skin Dance; Cornell University Social Dance; Townhouse Community Center; Ithaca, New York; 2010

The Delaware Skin Dance is also often danced the next day, during the Smoke Dance Competition that takes place in Barton Hall, an on-campus field house at Cornell University. Here, the singer hired to perform for the competition stands and sings into a microphone on the outside of the dance area with another singer. Unlike the Social the evening before, where everyone is dressed in casual clothing (T-shirts and jeans), dancers are dressed in Haudenosaunee regalia for the Smoke Dance Competition.



Illustration 1.3: The Delaware Skin Dance; Cornell University Smoke Dance Competition; Barton Hall; Ithaca, New York; 2010; Photo 1



Illustration 1.4: The Delaware Skin Dance; Cornell University Smoke Dance Competition; Barton Hall; Ithaca, New York; 2010; Photo 2

In the Longhouse, singers keep time to songs by striking sticks on the central wooden bench to replicate the sound of the Delaware skin drum, on which the Delaware Skin Dance songs were originally accompanied. In one Longhouse, Newtown, at Cattaraugus, they still drum with a stick on a piece of rawhide, an approximately 1ft x 1ft foot square piece of moose hide that hangs in their Longhouse. It is held by two men who hold on to the hide by putting

their fingers through holes in it (Jimerson 2010). Playing the drum is tiring because the singers have to hold onto the hide tightly. They recently added leather thongs for better gripping (Cooke 2010).

Outside the Longhouse, sticks are sometimes struck on wooden chairs, creating the same percussive sound as in the Longhouse. Or, they might accompany themselves on a hand drum. “When I’m performing or on the road I usually use a hand drum,” says Wesley. “I don’t ever use a water drum. Not for the Stick Dance”(Halsey 2010). At the Social held at Cornell University in November 2010, both the wooden rim and head of a hand drum were used, creating two contrasting sounds: the deep, rich, resonating sound of a leather beater hitting the skin of the drum with the harsh, cracking sound of a wooden drumstick handle slapping the wooden rim of the drum. New methods of accompanying the Delaware Skin Dance are examples of younger generations reinterpreting the dance. This kind of reinterpretation is nothing new, as evident by the fact that men on the Iroqrafts recording accompanied themselves by drumming on a cornflakes box.

During the Delaware Skin Dance, the singer usually alternates between songs of fast and slow tempos to give the dancers a break and regain their energy (Anonymous 2010). One man, who has been dancing since he was four or five years old, notes that the tempo of the Delaware Skin Dance has sped up during his lifetime (Anonymous 2010). The Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage website describes that a similar phenomenon has occurred with Smoke Dance tempo.

Over the past few decades while putting on "Shows" or exhibitions of Iroquoian Singing and Dancing, some singers sped up the tempo of the old "War Dance" songs to see if the dancers could keep up. The result is the Smoke Dance. During Smoke Dance Contests, both the new faster and older slower "War Dance" songs are sung for the men's contests while the women dance to faster songs only. (Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage 1999)

Together, the many short songs played in succession are known as the Delaware Skin Dance. Songs are not referred to individually (Halsey 2010). Singers dictate their own order in which to sing songs. There are particular ones generally played in the beginning of the dance, which are played at a slow to medium tempo before the singer moves on to faster songs. Many singers were taught to sing the first few songs in a particular order. While many singers sing the same songs, there are particular ones known only to singers in specific Iroquois communities. In Chapter 3, I analyze the songs, their performance order, and respective connections to different singers and their communities.

While the singers I spoke to said they might know 15 or 20 songs, they agreed that many more Delaware Skin Dance songs were probably alive at one time, especially among the Delaware, but that they died over time (Halsey 2010; Jimerson 2010). Wesley comments that at one point in time there may have been three or four hundred songs for every social dance (Halsey 2010). From a Delaware perspective, the fact that songs are dead does not necessarily mean they are forever lost. Songs, dances, and language can come back to the people through dreams and visions.

Like singing, dancing is learned through participating and observing others. “I was always taught that there’s never a wrong step. It’s just how you express yourself during the dance,” says Wesley (Halsey 2010). Small children are always welcome to dance. Sometimes relatives lead them by the hand; at smaller Socials they are often left to dance on their own. Social dances are focused on community participation. Smoke dancing, which has become a highly competitive athletic dance form, focuses more on public showmanship through fancy dance moves.

Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage, founded by Kyle Martin and based on Six Nations of the

Grand River in Ontario, Canada, is a nonprofit organization for the preservation of Iroquois languages and songs. Kyle was instrumental in collecting Delaware Skin Dance recordings for this project that I would not otherwise have been able to assemble. The organization sells audio recordings and will also copy a number of recordings in exchange for a CD. Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage's website provides short descriptions of Iroquois dances. Here is what it says about the Delaware Skin Dance:

Two singers [sit] in the middle with sticks as the instruments to make the beat. Beginning songs start out slow and the men take the lead and the women follow in their line behind the men. At the end of the song, the singers end with "yo" and the male dancers respond with "ye". The beat picks up and the dancers begin dancing with the fish step style. The songs vary, with slower songs and some faster songs, with a skip in the beat and the well seasoned dancer can "jump", or put in some fancier steps to liven up the dance. (Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage 1999)

As the website mentions, there are particular songs with breaks in which the pulse stops. Dancers familiar with these stops take the opportunity to show off their skills not only by knowing where these stops are placed, which takes time to learn, but also in striking impressive poses on the stops. This is particularly true for male dancers, although female dancers, especially those who smoke dance, display impressive poses as well.

During the Delaware Skin Dance, men usually get up to dance first and lead the single file line of dancers. Women follow the men (Halsey 2010). Sometimes a space is left between the male and female sections of the dance line. Men interact with the singers through call and response. Women customarily do not call out in response (Halsey 2010), although I have seen them do so on occasion.

Wesley lends his interpretation of the difference between the way men and women dance the Delaware Skin Dance. "The women are more gentle and not so wild and the men usually spin around in circles. [Men] let out war whoops. They're usually more bouncy, more into it.

The women are, I want to say, gliding on the floor when they do it” (Halsey 2010). One female dancer commented, “Our part of this dance is much slower than the men. We show more grace and smoothness, whereas the guys jump and spin fast” (Anonymous 2007). Both the Iroquois and Delaware traditionally dance in a circle, moving counter-clockwise, the same way the earth moves.

Ties to Historical Performance

In the summer of 2010, I made several visits to the Iroquois Village at the New York State Fair in Syracuse. During the fair, Haudenosaunee people participate in daily dancing for the public to watch. The Smoke Dance Competition is the biggest event at Iroquois Village, drawing Iroquois dancers from around New York State. Looking through the crowd, one sees friends and familiar faces. John Buck, lead singer for the all-Native blues band Corn-Bred serves as master of ceremonies, announcing the dances and explaining them to the public.

I met Norman Jimerson, a Seneca singer from Cattaraugus who is the Superintendent of the Iroquois Indian Village, at the Fair. He comes from a family of well-known singers. His brother, Martin Jimerson, serves as Iroquois Village’s Director of Dance Ceremonies. I also met Jordan Cooke, a singer from Cattaraugus, originally from Onondaga, at the village. He is working on a project, much broader in scope than mine, of finding, categorizing, and improving the sound quality of old Haudenosaunee song recordings. Norman and Jordan helped me, telling me what they know about the Delaware Skin Dance.

The name “Stick Dance” is a newer, more modern term for the Delaware Skin Dance and is derived from the fact that today sticks beat against the bench in the Longhouse to keep time (Anonymous 2007; Schenandoah 2008). Michael Galban, Washoe/Paiute, a singer and dancer of Haudenosaunee songs who is an interpretive guide at the Ganondagan State Historic Site near

Victor, New York, pointed out that although the dance is often called “Stick Dance,” the more formal name used for introducing the dance is “Delaware Skin Dance” (Galban 2008). I adhere to this designation throughout the dissertation. The elders I spoke to agreed that the name “Stick Dance” was used more by young people or those less familiar with the culture, some who participate in social dancing but who do not know where the dance comes from. I have heard a few other names during interviews that are very similar to “Delaware Skin Dance,” such as “Delaware Buck Skin Dance,” which provides a slightly more detailed description. At Newtown, they call the dance by its Seneca name, *Gunistongehéh*, which means “skin dance” (Jimerson 2010).

Singer Wesley Halsey described how the Haudenosaunee people acquired the Delaware Skin Dance and the songs that accompany it. “When the Europeans came and were forcing people out of their lands the Delaware people gave these songs to our people, the Iroquois people, to hold on to them, because they knew that as a whole we were stronger than their tribe. And they knew that we would be able to retain it” (Halsey 2010). No one that I spoke with indicated which Haudenosaunee nation received the Delaware Skin Dance first. When I asked if the Delaware Skin Dance songs were associated more with particular families than others I found that most of my collaborators thought that was too long in the past for anyone to remember today (Halsey 2010). Delaware refugees sought asylum with many Haudenosaunee communities, including the Oneida, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The Haudenosaunee became fosterers of the Delaware Skin Dance. This relationship stands in contrast to the connection they have with other foreign music in their repertory, which was incorporated as Haudenosaunee people traveled and learned new songs from Native people in other places. Wesley cites the Alligator Dance, from the Seminole, as one such example.

“We would travel and learn different songs and then bring them back here,” he told me, as he explained that this process was different from the way the Delaware, who were pushed off their land, gave the songs to the Haudenosaunee for safekeeping (Halsey 2010).⁴

Haudenosaunee singers told me about the Delaware Skin Dance’s former ceremonial function. Newtown Longhouse on Cattaraugus territory used to employ the Delaware Skin Dance songs in a medicine ceremony. “The Delaware Skin Dance was a traditional healing ceremony, that derived from the Delaware, that we borrowed,” says singer Jordan Cooke (Cooke 2010). Norman states, “It’s become a social dance now, because there’s no medicine, no rituals to it.” Norman said that, because it was so long ago, contemporary Iroquois people do not know how exactly the Delaware used the songs. “Nobody has that ceremony...it might come alive again someday. Somebody might need it,” he says, adding that they might receive it through a dream (Jimerson 2010). Norman indicates a difference between the songs sung at Newtown from those sung in other communities, like Six Nations, saying that Six Nations people always commented on the fact that they had the “real” songs (Jimerson 2010).

Norman Jimerson indicated that pig masks representing a boar were worn during the ceremony (Jimerson 2010). Iroquois masks, commonly called False Faces, are worn and used by the Society of Faces to cure and prevent sickness. One such pig mask in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, pictured in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, came from the Cayuga at Grand River in 1933. The mask has carved markings on the face of the pig, the nose, eyes, and lips are painted red, while the eyebrows and outline of the nose are in black.

⁴ In addition to the Delaware Skin Dance and Alligator Dance, other foreign dances performed by the Iroquois include the Round Dance brought north from Oklahoma and the Shake the Bush Dance from the Tutelo (Diamond 2008, 99-100).

On top of the pig's head is white sheep wool (Fenton 1978, 304-305).

Speck, who worked with the informant Deskáheh (Alexander General), a Cayuga chief, included information on pig masks in his study of the Iroquois Medicine Men's Society.

The Pig Mask is used by the members of this society. This type of mask is old and rare. Since it dates back to the period of mythical animals through its connection with the Medicine Men's Society, it may be safe to assume that it is a representation of one of the animals of that period and that in later times it became known as the 'Pig Mask.' The Cayuga regard the force residing in the Pig Mask to be extraordinarily powerful and attribute 'miraculous' cures to the performances of the society when this mask is used by one of its members in an emergency which calls for it. (Speck and General 1995, 103-104)

Speck goes on to discuss ceremonial feasting of a cooked pig's head. "The rite of eating the pig head is the fulfillment of the belief in the pig head mask as a curative medicine for the restoration of the seriously injured. The pig-head mask is part of the 'medicine' employed" (Speck and General 1995, 105-106). The Medicine Men's Society originally feasted on a cooked bear's head.

Some time after contact with Europeans, the pig came to replace the bear physically and symbolically. A connection between the bear and pig is also seen with the Delaware. When bears were not available for the feast of the Otter ceremony, also called grease-drinking rite, they were replaced with a pig. The head of the animal also plays a significant role in this ceremony (Adams 1977, 56-57).

Categorically, the Delaware Skin Dance shifted from sacred to secular music. Contemporary Haudenosaunee people make clear distinctions between sacred music, which they call "ceremonial songs," and secular music, called "social songs" or "Earth Songs" (Ohwejagehka: Ha'degaenage 1999). This transformation probably occurred as its former ritualistic purpose become irrelevant to Iroquois people. Although they discontinued the ceremony, they still hold on to the songs. In the past, I believe, the distinction between

ceremonial and social music was less rigidly defined; even today these categories are not as distinct as they are portrayed. Colonization has forced American Indians to compartmentalize their music into sacred and secular categories that mimic those found in Western culture between religious Christian music and non-religious music. Yet, in Western culture there are songs that blur the boundary between sacred and secular, having made a transition from church use to popular use. “Amazing Grace” is one example. A significant amount of secular folk music and blues contains religious influence and references, even though the songs may not be used in rituals.

In Iroquois culture, those songs with the most relevant ceremonial functions were kept in the category of sacred music, while others were relegated into the secular category. Therefore, even songs that were once ceremonial—like the Smoke Dance—but that have no use in their former role—in that case, as war dances—are recontextualized and the old ceremonial context is no longer practiced. Norman compared change in function of the Delaware Skin Dance to that of the Smoke Dance. “Now it’s all revised...the Smoke Dance was a war dance one time. Now it’s competitive for money or medals” (Jimerson 2010). The Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage website explains that Smoke Dance songs are not Earth Songs, having originally been a war dance performed only by men (Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage 1999). On the website, the Delaware Skin Dance is included in the list of Earth Songs. However, just because a dance is considered an Earth Song does not mean people do not hold reverence for it. “Some people look at it as all the dances are sacred and they all have meaning,” says Wesley, “It’s just how you look at it” (Halsey 2010).

Haudenosaunee people show respect during the Delaware Skin Dance by performing it at the end of a Social and by taking their hats off. Michael Galban told me that transmission of the

Delaware Skin Dance was part of a larger adoption arrangement, where the Delaware agreed to concede their Delaware identity, while the Seneca agreed to perform the dance in a place of honor. Attendants are often asked to remove their hats during the Delaware Skin Dance as a sign of respect (Galban 2008). Norman Jimerson stresses that he and other Seneca people at Cattaraugus have respect for the dance because it was a ceremony. “When they dance, all the people say, ‘take your hat off.’ ‘Young kids, ok, take your hat off.’ Why? Well, because it was a ceremony... We still have respect because the medicine helped our people” (Jimerson 2010). Norman emphasized the fact that because the Delaware Skin Dance is performed as a social dance, the songs are presented out of context. He used their Feather Dance as an example, explaining that there are certain specific orders to all of their ceremonial songs. Because the Delaware Skin Dance is now a social dance, singers sing whatever comes to their mind. “It’s replicated for Social,” he said. Nevertheless, he reiterates that in the Longhouse they still take their hats off and drum on the skin in his Longhouse. He also makes a clear distinction between the songs referred to as Stick Dance at Six Nations and their Delaware Skin Dance songs. “We never had a Stick Dance in Newtown. [We have the] Delaware Skin Dance and they call that ‘*Gunistongeh*’ ” (Jimerson 2010).

The Delaware Skin Dance is often the last dance performed at a Haudenosaunee social dance. “It’s not protocol for the Delaware Stick Dance to be performed last,” states Vicky Schenandoah, Wesley’s mother, “but this dance is often saved for last. It’s a fun dance” (Schenandoah 2008). “The Delaware Skin Dance is almost always the last dance of the social in the Western end of the Confederacy,” said Galban, “But in the East, the Unity Stomp dance is often done last” (Galban 2008). Jordan says that because the dance was ceremonial for his people at Cattaraugus, it is danced last. “Out of respect, it’s one that we always hold at the

end...it's the closing dance we always hold at our social dances. It always comes last" (Cooke 2010). A number of singers and dancers, like Wesley, commented on the excitement of the dance and that it is a nice farewell dance to top off the night (Halsey 2010).

The Delaware Skin Dance was the last dance at almost every Social I attended. For example, there was social dancing at the Peachtown Festival, held at Wells College in Aurora, New York, in September 2009. The Haudenosaunee Singers and Dancers who performed there danced the Delaware Skin Dance last. The festival was followed by a meal and more social dancing at the Cayuga Share Farm, where the Delaware Skin Dance was danced last a second time. Exceptions to this were when social dances were performed within the context of an event like the Smoke Dance Competition at Cornell University or during the dance demonstrations at the New York State Fair. At the Smoke Dance Competition, the Delaware Skin Dance was danced in-between competition dances. Dancing at the fair occurred several times a day, so performances were relatively short and only exhibited a few dances in each segment. The Delaware Skin Dance was not included in these.

Most older singers envision Delaware Skin Dance repertory as a finite body of music. In their view, new Delaware Skin Dance songs cannot be written; the only Delaware Skin Dance songs are those given to them by the Delaware. Most of the people I spoke with were not aware of new Delaware Skin Dance songs being created (Anonymous 2010). Wesley commented that some singers learn their Native language and will use words in new songs they compose, but that he doesn't know of this happening with the Delaware Skin Dance, only with dances like the Woman's Dance. He has heard performances where singers included Smoke Dance songs in their lineup of Delaware Skin Dance songs (Halsey 2010). In his collection of Iroquois song recordings, Jordan has amassed a number of freshly composed Delaware Skin Dance songs,

which he categorizes as contemporary Stick Dance songs. He explains that some younger singers are not familiar with the origin of the Delaware Skin Dance, but that their new songs are working to advance the art of singing Stick Dance. Jordan says, “Even in new tracks that they sing at social dances today, they might sing a new variation of a song. And someone might think of it and say, ‘Oh, is that an old song? Or did you just make that up?’ And they’re like, ‘Oh, well I just made it up.’ Or they might hear an old track...and make a variation of it to make it their own.” Jordan says that some young singers who create new lyrics and find new ways to sing the Delaware Skin Dance, which they popularly call Stick Dance, are surprised to find out that it is not an Iroquois dance (Cooke 2010).

The fact that the newest generation of Iroquois singers is not only reinterpreting the Delaware Skin Dance but also reinventing it through developing new songs to add to its repertory may be an indication that the dance has made an almost complete transition from music with a Delaware identity to music of a Haudenosaunee identity.

The most common responses from young people about the Delaware Skin Dance are that it is one of their favorite dances. Some say it is the most popular because it is the most fun dance. These responses might be attributed to the fact that it is highly energetic and has a fast tempo (Anonymous 2010). Norman recognizes the importance of the Delaware Skin Dance in today’s Iroquois social dancing, saying, “It’s only contemporary, but it’s still culture” (Jimerson 2010).

Halsey expresses some of his personal philosophy on singing and dancing:

When I’m singing it’s almost like my time with the Creator. It’s like I’m singing not for me, not for anybody else, but just for the Creator. For his enjoyment. When I dance it’s the same thing. It’s for the enjoyment of the Creator. Everyone does it differently and has their own reasons for doing it.

When I started singing, my mom and all the people that told me how to sing and

what to do, they told me that when you sing it, sing it with the purest heart you can. And that's for the enjoyment of the Creator. They also said when you sing it's for all the people that came before you and it's in honor of all them too. (Halsey 2010)

Men sometimes shout out periodically during the Delaware Skin Dance. I asked Norman what these utterances mean.

It's all in celebration because of the person that's having that ceremony was being treated well. At certain parts of the song they celebrate and they all partake in it, because of the continuity with the Creator, the tobacco, the person, and the people dancing, because they're healings, ceremonials. Ceremonies are healings. [The Delaware Skin Dance] was no longer a ceremony. So we took it, and the kids got a hold of it, and they turned it [into] Stick Dance, and then we still maintain the Skin Dance in Newtown. The original songs. (Jimerson 2010)

On September 5, 2010, I attended the Delaware Nation Powwow in Moraviantown, Ontario, which is attended by Delaware people from the Moraviantown and Munsee-Delaware reserves, Haudenosaunee people, as well as other First Nations peoples. Lotunt Honyust, an Oneida singer and fluent speaker from the Oneida Nation of the Thames near Muncie, Ontario, was asked to come sing the Delaware Skin Dance at the powwow for the Delaware people. To my knowledge, this was the second time in recent history that the Delaware Skin Dance was performed at a Delaware event, the first being at the Munsee-Delaware Nation powwow earlier in the summer. Lotunt introduced himself in his language and spoke to the Delaware audience about the Delaware Skin Dance, and the manner in which it is sung and danced. For some Delaware, it was their first time hearing or dancing the Delaware Skin Dance. Others had danced it previously at Haudenosaunee events. As we danced, we watched Haudenosaunee dancers in the line, mimicking their steps. It takes time and practice to learn to dance the Delaware Skin Dance, which uses the fish step style (Ohwejagehka: Ha'degaenage 1999). It takes considerably longer to learn the songs that accompany it. This was a significant event spiritually and symbolically for Delaware people because it was a first step in reintroducing them

to their ancient music.



Illustration 1.5: The Delaware Skin Dance; Delaware Nation Powwow, Moraviantown, Ontario; September 2011, Photo 1



Illustration 1.6: The Delaware Skin Dance; Delaware Nation Powwow, Moraviantown, Ontario; September 2011, Photo 2

What would be the spiritual and ancestral significance of revitalizing the Delaware Skin Dance in Delaware communities? If Delaware people were able to learn the Delaware Skin Dance, it could be a source of cultural renewal for them. Given the fact that they have been removed from the songs for so long, would they be able to integrate the dance into present day ceremonies through adaptation of current practices or the creation of new ones? This largely depends upon the visions and motivations of young Delaware people. Regardless of whether or

not the Delaware people use the songs in a ceremonial way, the songs have spiritual weight in the sense that they connect Delaware people with their ancestors.

I spent the day after the Delaware Nation Powwow at the Oneida Nation of the Thames Longhouse and Cookhouse speaking with Lotunt about the oral history of the Delaware Skin Dance and making recordings of him singing. In particular, he wanted to sing songs for me that he thought I would not find in other communities or would not find sung the same way. He provided fascinating information on several songs' lyrics, which include Oneida words. Whether these songs were originally translated from Delaware into Oneida or whether the lyrics came from the Oneidas themselves is a question that remains to be answered.



Illustration 1.7: Lotunt Honyust singing the Delaware Skin Dance; Delaware Nation Powwow, Moraviantown, Ontario; September 2011

I asked my Iroquois collaborators if Delaware people could learn the Delaware Skin Dance songs if they wanted to, and if so, how they should go about doing it. Some Iroquois people told me that there was an implied understanding that they would hold onto the Delaware Skin Dance songs until the Delaware were able to receive them again. If this is the case, Haudenosaunee people would be fulfilling their role in this repatriation by working with Delaware singers. Wesley told me, "If a Delaware person came up to me and asked to learn these songs I would say yeah, but when you ask to learn somebody's songs you usually give

them tobacco. That's pretty much [how] it would go. And then they would sit there and learn them. I don't know of any other way somebody would approach it" (Halsey 2010). Jordan said, "Oh, yeah. Absolutely. It's certainly possible. " He went on to talk about how he and several others within their traditional communities are reviving songs as well.

We're listening to old recordings. We're breaking it down and listening to it. What are they saying? [We are] going back to the speakers, people who are more fluent in the language. What are they trying to say to you? What is it? Are they supposed to be saying something or is it just a lyric, or is it just a chant? So we take that back and then listening to it musically and then try to break it down. Oh yeah, this is what they were singing. This is what it was supposed to mean. (Cooke 2010)

Delaware people have a desire to learn the Delaware Skin Dance songs and Haudenosaunee people are willing to teach them. Still, it may take many years for the dream of Delaware people relearning the songs to actually come to fruition.

In addition to the singers I already mentioned, recordings of Alvis Thompson, Art Johnson, Lyle Anderson, Cam Hill, George Buck, Raymond Spragge, Jacob E. Thomas, Hubert "Chief" Cusick, Hubert Buck Sr., Steve Henhawk, Guy Williams, Sheldon Sundown, Frasier Phillips, and Gary Parker are used in my study of the Delaware Skin Dance. Their recordings, many of which can be purchased on CD from Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage, are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

In this chapter, I aimed to paint a picture of contemporary performance of the Delaware Skin Dance and its songs by describing the living social dance tradition of which it is a part and the Iroquois singers and dancers that support it. In the following chapters, I will investigate the history of the Delaware Skin Dance, conduct a music and lyric analysis of individual Delaware Skin Dance songs, and ask if and how the performance of the dance might return to the Delaware.

CHAPTER 2

ECHOES FROM TIME PASSED

In the field of American Indian studies, a great deal of work has explored continuity and change in American Indian communities by analyzing physical objects from particular cultures. Objects like pottery and arrowheads are often thought to be the oldest remnants of ancient cultures. But intangible creations like American Indian ideas, oral history, ceremonies, and—as is the focus of this study—music, may predate these objects. Musical traditions have endured through time and are vibrant elements of Native cultures today. Tracing the history of music—of intellectual property—and understanding the ways in which it has stayed consistent or changed over time can be difficult. One cannot dig up a three-hundred-year-old recording. Yet, as scholars in fields adjoining ethnomusicology, such as historical musicology, know, it is possible to theorize and draw conclusions about music from supporting historical evidence.

This chapter looks to accounts from the Delaware's early relationship with Europeans in combination with archaeological, anthropological, and historical writing in order to develop a holistic understanding of continuity and change in the music of Delaware people who were forced to leave their homelands and who sought refuge among the Iroquois, many of whom first found asylum in satellite refugee villages set up by the Haudenosaunee on their way to larger Iroquois communities. I will explore three primary theories: first, the Delaware Skin Dance descends from the Big House ceremony; second, the social environment in the Iroquois satellite communities that Delaware refugees moved to was favorable to continued practice of their musical traditions; and third, the Haudenosaunee integrated Delaware populations and Delaware music separately into their culture and society.

The Delaware Skin Dance's Big House Origins

The Delaware Big House ceremony, a ritual of singing, dancing, and prayer that took place over twelve nights,⁵ was last held in its entirety in Washington County, near Bartlesville, Oklahoma in 1924.⁶ Some Oklahoma Delaware individuals held vision songs in their musical repertoire until the 1980s (Levine 2001, 464). The Delaware Big House ceremony has been a focus of conversation in Delaware studies for many years. Many aspects of the Delaware Big House ceremony have been thoroughly researched, with detailed descriptions of the ceremony provided by Harrington, Speck, and Grumet, among others. A rather recent contribution, *Voices From the Delaware Big House Ceremony*, edited by Robert S. Grumet, provides a compilation of accounts of Delaware ceremonials, from Dutch colonist Adriaen Cornelissen Van der Donck's 1655 account in the Hudson River Valley to Eastern Oklahoma Delaware Nora Thompson Dean's accounts collected before her death in 1984. For the most part, academics consider the Delaware Big House ceremony a dead ritual and many Delaware people consider it permanently closed or dormant. I wish to highlight the Delaware Skin Dance's probable origins in the Big House and the fact that it is one element that is neither dead nor dormant, but a fully living, vibrant part of Iroquois social dance culture. My assertion that the Delaware Skin Dance comes from the Big House is based on three pieces of evidence. First, the skin drum from which the Delaware Skin Dance gets its name was traditionally used only in ceremony, which compels me to conclude that the songs must be of ceremonial origin. Second, there are striking similarities between Delaware Big House song structures and Delaware Skin Dance songs, which show a probable connection between the two. Third, the Seneca previously used the Delaware Skin

⁵ Shorter six- and eight-night ceremonies also occurred (Goddard 1978, 232).

⁶ Abbreviated versions of the ceremony have been held since, such as just after the beginning of World War II.

Dance in Longhouse ceremonies. It is nearly impossible that they would have invented a ceremony to go with this foreign dance; they learned the Delaware Skin Dance with its accompanying ceremony from the Delaware.

From an organological perspective, of particular interest is the special instrument—the Delaware Skin Drum—used only for the Big House ceremony. It is this drum from which the currently practiced Delaware Skin Dance receives its name. In Munsee Delaware, a drum is called *pohwuniikan*, literally, “beaten instrument” (Speck and Peters 1945, 44).

According to the glossary in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 3: The United States and Canada*, a membranophone is, “[A] musical instrument such as a drum, whose sound is produced by a vibrating membrane or skin” (Koskoff, “Glossary” 2001, 1287). One familiar example would be the powwow drum, constructed from a piece of membrane stretched over a frame to provide a resonant sound. An idiophone is defined as, “[A] musical instrument whose whole body vibrates to produce the sound, such as a rattle or chime” (Koskoff, “Glossary” 2001, 1286). Familiar examples of idiophones in Native American music include turtle shell and cow-horn rattles. The Delaware Skin Drum is a unique instrument in that although it is made of animal hide, it can be argued that its construction and sound classify it as an idiophone rather than a membranophone.

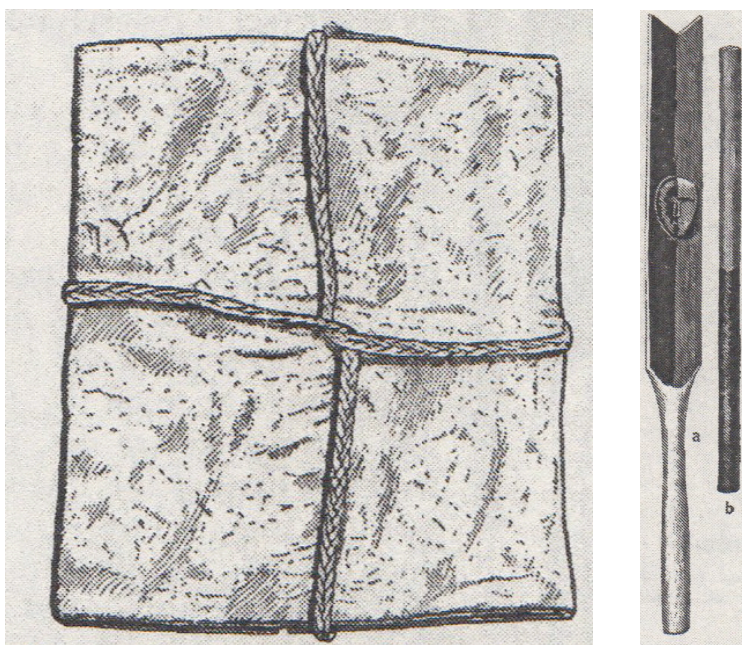


Illustration 2.1: Left—Minsi [Munsee] type Delaware Skin Drum made from deerskin.
 Right—a. Minsi drumstick; b. Minsi prayerstick (Harrington 1921, 129-130)

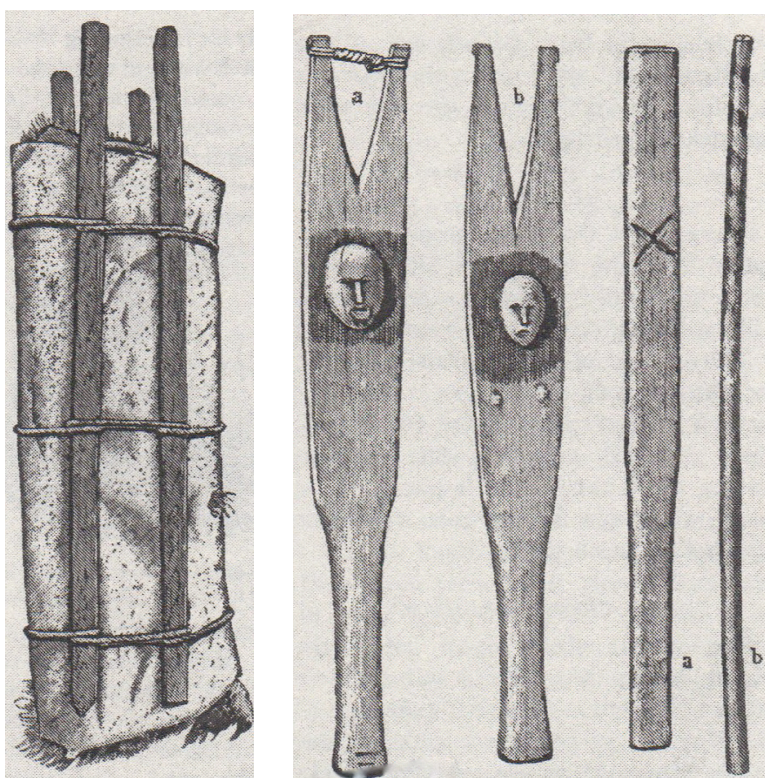


Illustration 2.2: Left—Oklahoma type Delaware Skin Drum made from deerskin.
 Right—a. Sacred male drumstick; b. Sacred female drumstick; a. plain drumstick; b. prayerstick (Harrington 1921, 129-130)

Writings from Harrington and Speck, as well as Iroquois oral history, discuss the use of Delaware Skin Drums by Delaware people at Six Nations. Harrington describes the Grand River version of the Delaware Skin Drum.

In the old religious ceremonies of the Delawares at Grand River a very peculiar drum was used, a dry skin folded in rectangular form and beaten with four sticks, each bearing a tiny human head carved in relief...The Delawares of Six Nations Reserve formerly held what was known as a 'General Thanksgiving' ceremony...twice a year, once in the spring and again in the fall. At these times it was customary to meet in the Cayuga long-house, borrowed for the occasion. At a certain point in the proceedings...a man stood up and recited, in a rhythmical sing-song tone, his dream—the vision of power seen by him in his youth. (Harrington 1921, 139-140)

Based on the variety of Delaware Skin Drums represented in museum collections and in anthropological literature, it is apparent that there was no single, standardized way to construct this type of drum; rather, there were several methods, all of which created idiophone drums that produced similar, sharp, percussive sounds when played. Harrington (1921) and Speck (1931, 1945) describe several Munsee and Unami versions of Delaware Skin Drums and their variations. Harrington provides sketches that show Munsee drums as made from a folded, de-haired, and tied piece of rawhide, while the sketch of the Unami drum shows a hide rolled with hair on the inside with wooden slats tied around it. Both style drums were made from fleshed hide that was not tanned. Information that Chief Waubuno relayed to Harrington about Munsee ceremonies suggests additional possibilities, "Near the post sat two Indian singers, each with a large bundle of undressed deer skins which served as drums" (Harrington 1921, 144). Speck provides yet another example in his description of the Skin Drum used for the Bear Sacrifice Ceremony that the Munsee-Mahicans, as Speck calls them, performed inside the Big House at Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada.

The characteristic drum of Delaware form was a deerskin folded to form a rectangle. The manner of folding the hide was to leave enough space inside the folds for sufficient air to

produce a hollow reverberation when the object was struck with the drum-beaters. (Speck and Peters 1945, 44)

According to Harrington and Speck, the Delaware Skin Drum was used only in ceremonial contexts within the Big House. In 1931 Speck indicates that other kinds of drums were not used during the strictly ceremonial proceedings of the Big House.

This instrument of percussion is simply a dried deer-skin folded and bound with cordage that fastens two long wooden slats to opposite sides, its length is thirty-two inches...It is worth noting that the Delawares use neither the hollow log-drum nor the water-drum in the Big House ceremony although both are known in connection with other dance performances in the tribe. (Speck, Witapanóxwe, and Pennsylvania Historical Commission 1931, 69)

After the eighth night of the Bear Sacrifice Ceremony performed in the Big House at Six Nations, symbolical and social dances were brought in; with this shift, there was a change in instrumentation, which Speck explains.

The change in tone of the festivities at this point was marked by the removal of the sacred instruments. At the conclusion of these dances the hide drum and symbolical painted drum beaters, “prayer-sticks,” and the turtle shell rattle were taken by the Sweepers and put away in the skin receptacle until the next seasonal ceremony required them again...With the removal from use of the sacred folded-hide drum and the beaters on this night, it being the fifth one of the convention, the religious tone of the ceremony was relaxed. (Speck and Peters 1945, 73; Grumet 2001, 141)

Since the hide drum was only used for the most sacred ceremonies, I argue that loss of the Delaware Skin Drum in the dance’s performance among the Iroquois marks a definitive point in its transition from a ceremonial to social dance. As discussed in Chapter One, a hide drum is still used by the Seneca at Cattaraugus, but only in the Longhouse.

We find clues about where within the Delaware Big House ceremony the present-day Delaware Skin Dance may have come from in Speck’s writing. In *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House* (Speck and General 1995), Speck writes that the Delaware Skin Dance is a Delaware men’s dance. In *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth*, Speck’s book on the Bear

Sacrifice Ceremony at Six Nations, he writes of a Delaware men's dance being performed during the Bear Sacrifice Ceremony, in March during the Maple Sugar Festival, in June during the Strawberry Dance Festival, and during the Green Corn Ceremony in September (Speck and Peters 1945).⁷

On about the eighth or the tenth night [of the Bear Sacrifice Ceremony] when the moon had become full, they chanted the dreams and danced the formal and social dances all night until sunrise. The dance series included the Men's Dance, which formally followed the dream or vision recitations, the Mixed Dance, the Woman's Dance, the Nighthawk Dance, the Robin Dance, the Raccoon Dance, the False Face Dance, and the War Dance. (Speck and Peters 1945)

Speck's main informant for this work was a man named Nekatcit, also known as Nicodemus Peters, who died in Hagersville in 1938 at the age of seventy-nine. Although Nekatcit never participated in the Delaware Big House ceremony, which ended before his time, we know that some of the Delaware's ceremonial dances continued for at least one more generation because he participated in them (Speck and Peters 1945, xii).

There may be a correlation between the Iroquois' contemporary method of drumming on a bench and Delaware methods of drumming in the 1600s, as was observed by William Penn (1644-1718), a Quaker who was the founder and first governor of Pennsylvania, when he wrote the following account, one of the oldest and most frequently quoted descriptions of Delaware ceremonials, in 1683 (Penn and Myers 1937).

Their Worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and Cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvelous fervency and labor of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part of their worship is by Cantico, performed by round dances, sometime words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus: Their postures in the dance are very antick and differing, but all keep measure.

⁷ While he does not explicitly say that the men's dances mentioned in *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Long House* and *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth* are one in the same, I concluded that they probably are.

This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but with great appearance of joy.
(Harrington 1921, 115; Grumet 2001; Penn and Myers 1937)

Assuming that Penn was mistaken and had not correctly identified that Delaware singers were, in fact, drumming on a Delaware Skin Drum, Harrington wrote: “In this brief account should be noted the presence of *two* drummers; the fact that they did not use a drum, but a ‘board’ which was probably, if Penn had taken the trouble to look more closely, a dried hide” (Harrington 1921, 116). Scholars after Harrington followed suit in explaining Penn’s account as a simple mistake. Goddard writes:

The principal ceremony was described as a dance performed by a number of people proceeding in a circle. The verbal accompaniment alternated between words and songs, punctuated by shouts. Two men sat in the middle drumming on a “board” (actually a stiff hide, to judge by later evidence and leading the singing. The dancers were very active jumping and making various movements, but always keeping time. Others sat on the sidelines singing and beating the ground with short sticks. (Goddard 1978, 220)

In *Voices from the Delaware Big House Ceremony*, Grumet states, “The account contains perhaps the earliest known descriptions of a drumming board (thought to be a reference to the flat deer-hide drum used in the Big House)” (Grumet 2001, 29). Adams too cites the notion that Penn was probably mistaken (Adams 1977, 28). The Delaware Skin Dance may help us understand that Penn was actually correct in his account. For, it is possible that the sacred Skin Drum was not always present and that the Iroquois method of accompanying the Delaware Skin Dance by drumming on the central bench in the Longhouse is not something they constructed in the absence of a Skin Drum, but something they saw the Delaware do first. Considering the additional evidence that, acoustically, drumming on a board produces a similar sound to that of a Delaware skin drum—similar to the Munsee-style drum because the hide is de-haired and similar to the Unami-style drum because wooden slats are strapped to it—I contest that it is possible Penn’s account was correct (Harrington 1921, 129).

Just as there are similarities between drumming the Delaware Skin Dance and drumming in the Delaware Big House, parallels can also be drawn between Delaware Skin Dance song patterns and the arrangement of Delaware Big House songs. In “Word Distortions in Delaware Big House and Walam Olum Songs,” published by the Indiana Academy of Science in 1942, C. F. Voegelin outlines some of the differences in song structure between Big House vision songs and songs for collective use in the Big House ceremony. Although everyone living in a particular community probably knew everyone else’s vision song, ownership of the song belonged to the individual who had received the song and was only performed by him during the ceremony (Harrington 1921, 249; Voegelin 1942, 48). “It was unthinkable that anyone should sing anyone else’s song,” writes Voegelin (Voegelin 1942, 48). Other songs performed during the Big House ceremony, such as departing and returning hunters’ songs, belonged to the Big House ceremony (Voegelin 1942, 52). Delaware Skin Dance songs possess certain similarities with both vision songs and those belonging to the Big House. Since the Delaware Skin Dance is performed communally, I hypothesized that the Delaware Skin Dance songs must come not from the most private category of Delaware music—the vision song—but from the sacred songs that belong to the Big House ceremony as a whole. In analyzing the song structures of both kinds, I found that indeed Delaware Skin Dance songs possess more similarities to songs belonging to the Big House than they do to vision songs.

In the next chapter, I discuss the Delaware Skin Dance songs in detail. Here, I would like to provide a few examples of how the songs align with Voegelin’s findings regarding Delaware Big House songs. Voegelin transcribed and studied over a dozen songs collected through his communications with Mr. Longbone, a Delaware who sang his and other’s vision songs and the departing and returning hunters’ songs for Voegelin. Voegelin noted that Delaware Big House

songs contained a host of morphological distortions from Delaware speech, such as the loss of inflectional endings. His findings, which are exemplified in the following example, show that words in Delaware song lyrics were significantly different from Delaware speech. Below, the column on the left shows Voegelin's transcription of Charlie Elkhair's vision song. The column on the right, enclosed by brackets, shows Voegelin's interpretation of the song's text into its spoken word equivalent with the English translation he provides.

A. he halami hewie halami	[haləmi'hilee = it begins to go up]
B. wi wenamuwoowo'ohu	[kweenamuwáakkan = his worship]
C. ai honile'ena ohewi	[wáni lənáappe = this Delaware]
D. haididi haidi hahe (Voegelin 1942, 51-52)	[exclamation]

In general, vision songs are shorter and possess less repetition than the collectively owned Big House songs Voegelin transcribed. The next two examples belonged to the Delaware Big House, one being sung upon departure of the hunters and the other upon their return. I have taken the liberty of highlighting word endings in bold to aid the reader in identifying patterns in the songs and the way these endings are modified.

Departing hunters' song:

- A. he halamilehweeye
 halamilehwiye
 halamilehwiye
 halamilhwiya
 hwiya ho
- B. patamiwiwoowo konuwahiya
 kotamwiwoo konuwahiya
 hiya ho

Returning hunters' song:

- A. he pecithweee
 pecilehweyi
 pecilehwiya
 pecilehwiya
 heya ho
- B. patamwiwooo kenuwahiya

kotamwiwoo konuwahiya
heya ho

C. wanilenooo pewitehiyi

D. anilenoo pewitehiya
heya ho

(Voegelin 1942, 52)

Voegelin provides the following analysis of the departing and returning hunters' songs:

Line A differs in the two songs. The spoken word equivalent for the former is *haləmíhilee* “it begins to go up”; for the latter, *peecíhilee* “it comes here”. Lines B and C are not quite identical phonetically in the two songs, but they stand for the same spoken words, namely, *pootamweeyóokkan* “his prayer”, and *wáni lənáappe* “this Delaware”. In both songs, lines A, B, and C end separately with an exclamation which repeats, after the fashion of an echo, the final pair of syllables of the song proper. (Voegelin 1942, 52-53)

Without the knowledge of how word endings vary in song, an untrained listener might not know that a singer was deliberately varying word endings throughout these two songs. The same is true of the next two Delaware Skin Dance song examples, taken from my own transcriptions of recordings produced of Iroquois social dance music, which are presented in full in the next chapter.

Wii goo yaa nii aa
 Singer: Hay yew
 Respondent: *Hii yee!*
 Singer: **Wii** goo yaa nii **aa**
 Way goo yaa nii **aa**
 Wii goo yaa nii **aa**
 Way goo yaa nii **aa**
 Way goo yaa nii **oo**
 Way goo yaa nii
 Way goo yaa nii **aa**
 Wii goo yaa nii **oo**
 Way goo yaa nii
 Way goo yaa nii **aa**
 Wii goo yaa nii **oo**
 Way goo yaa nii **aa**
 Wii goo yaan
 Wii goo yaa nii **aa**
 Way goo yaa nii **aa**
 Respondent: *li yee!*
 Singer: **Wii** goo yaa nii **aa**

Way goo yaa **nii**
Way goo yaa nii **oo**
Way goo yaa nii **aa**
Way goo yaa nii **aa**
Wii goo yaa nii **aa**
Way goo yaa **nii**
Way goo yaa nii **aa**
Way goo yaa nii **aa**
Way goo yaa nii **aa**
Way goo yaa nii **aa**
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*
(Johnson and Anderson 2004)

In this Delaware Skin Dance song example, a song I labeled “Wii goo yaa nii aa” (for the purposes of differentiating it from other songs), vocables are varied at the beginning and the end of each line, rather than just the end of the line as in the Big House songs. Vocables appearing at the beginning of lines include “wii” and “way”; vocables appearing at the end of lines include “aa,” “oo,” and the absence of an ending vocable.⁸ The middle of each line, “goo yaa nii,” stays the same throughout each line of the song. “**Way** goo yaa nii **aa**” is repeated four times at the end of the song without lyric variation.

Geen yoo hoo

Singer: **Hay yoo**
Geen yoo **hoo**
Geen yoo **hey**
Geen yoo **hoo**

Hay yoo
Geen yoo **hoo**
Geen yoo **hey**
Geen yoo **hoo**

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo **hey**

⁸ Absence of the ending vocable might be attributed to points in the song when the singer takes a breath rather than vocables that have been intentionally omitted.

Geen yoo **hoo**

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo **hey**

Geen yoo **hoo**

Hay yoo

Geen yoo **hoo**

Geen yoo **hey**

Geen yoo **hoo**

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo **hey**

Geen yoo **hoo**

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo **hey**

Geen yoo **hoo**

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo **hey**

Geen yoo **hoo** (aa)

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yoo hooee!*

(Sundown 2006)

In the second Delaware Skin Dance song example, “Geen yoo hoo,” each line—except for the beginning exclamation “Hay yoo” and lines where the drum stops time and the singer sings “Aa hey geen yoo hoo”—begins with “Geen yoo.” As with the Big House song examples provided by Voegelin, variations come at the end of lines, with alternation between “hoo” and “hey.” In both Delaware Skin Dance songs, the interplay of alternating vocables and the absence thereof adds rhythmic interest to the song. “Yoo” and the following call by the respondent are exclamations at the end of both examples. Both the Delaware Skin Dance and Big House songs make heavy use of repetition that sometimes, but not always, has an easily definable pattern.

Elkhair's vision song contains three lines of words followed by the exclamation "haididi haidi hahe." Voegelin calls these "burden syllables" (Voegelin 1942, 52-53) and they are popularly referred to as "nonsense syllables"; I call them vocables. While vocables are commonly described as sounds apparently empty of meaning, similar to "fa la la la la, la la la la" in the familiar Christmas song "Deck the Halls," the results of my research points in the new direction scholars are taking by calling them "meaningful syllables" (Williams 2007, 105). Considering the fact that they can be found in almost all North American Native music (Williams 2007, 105), I believe the importance of vocables has been largely overlooked.

Vocables are found in both vision songs and songs belonging to the Big House, where they are a prominent characteristic of phrase endings. Careful examination of vocables in, for example, the "Departing hunters' song," shows that the word *halamihiilee*—"it begins to go up"—is repeated four times with three different endings. After singing "halamilehweeye, halamilehwiye, halamilehwiye, halamilhwiya," the "burden syllables" or vocables "hwiya ho" are sung. If one compares these vocables to the end of the word sung just before, one sees that they are, in fact, a reiteration of what has already been sung. In this light, the connection between vocables and words can easily be seen. I have not identified any words in the Delaware Big House songs, although the songs certainly possess sounds that are reminiscent of certain words. Two primary theories of why the songs might not contain words include the hypothesis that the songs' lyrics never consisted of actual words and the idea that the lyrics changed so much over time that the words have become unrecognizable. I believe the example shown here displays the possibility that over time the songs adopted vocables originally used at the ends of phrases as their primary lyrics while dropping Delaware words.

Iroquois oral history expands our understanding of how the Delaware performed the

Delaware Skin Dance. Although these stories recall ancestral Iroquois recollections of Delaware music from long ago, my conversations with Haudenosaunee singers revealed rich stories passed down over generations. Wesley Halsey learned that the Delaware danced the Delaware Skin Dance in honor and celebration of a good hunt. He explains a Skin Drum variety different from the Munsee and Unami types described by Harrington but similar to the drum still used at Cattaraugus, which is not made by folding the hide but by men pulling on opposite sides of a single piece of hide. “They would honor the animal,” says Wesley, “When they skinned it, they would stretch the skin out so tight that when you sing those songs on it, it sounded like wood banging on wood. They would do it in honor of the animal that they killed. That’s how I learned it” (Halsey 2010). Giving thanks for game, especially deer harvested for feasts during the Big House ceremony, was an important part of Delaware practices. Giving thanks meant not only having appreciation for the life of the animal that was taken, but also showing respect for *Miisingw*, the Keeper of the Game, which Harrington describes.

The most remarkable deity of the Lenape is the Mask Being, called by the Unami Misinghali'kun, which was interpreted as "Living Mask," or "Living Solid Face." According to the Unami, this being was made guardian by the Creator of all the wild animals of the forest, and is sometimes seen riding about on the back of a buck, herding the deer; but he lives in a range of rocky mountains above the earth. His face is large and round, the right half being painted red, the left black, while his body is covered with long dark hair like that of a bear... They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for Misinghali'kun and asks for good luck in hunting, 'it turns out that way every time.' (Harrington 1921, 32-34, 35)

According to Harrington, one Unami Big House speaker who offered twelve pinches of tobacco, six in the east and six in the west, and gave the rest to the hunters to burn at camp for *Miisingw*, stated, “When you hunt, think of nothing but luck to kill deer” (Harrington 1921, 98-99). The use of music in bringing in the hunters is described as follows:

If they have killed deer, they shoot their guns; if not, they come in very quietly. When the shots are heard, the singers hasten to their places, and, beating the drum, sing a song

that is used only on such occasions. Then when the hunters arrive, they feast, and their leader announces the names of those lucky enough to kill a deer. The carcasses are skinned and hung on the deer pole east of the Big House, and are used in the feasts at the close of every night's meeting until the gathering disbands.
(Harrington 1921, 100-101)

Having painted a picture of the Delaware Skin Dance's likely association with the Delaware Big House ceremony through exploring the connection of its name to the instrument used in the Big House, the parallels between Delaware Skin Dance and Delaware Big House song structure, and Iroquois oral history of how the dance was used among the Delaware, we will now move on to a discussion of how social environments in Iroquois satellite communities allowed for the continuation of Delaware musical traditions.

Tracing Delaware Paths to Iroquoia

In order to understand continuity and change of music over time—in this case, the Delaware Skin Dance—one must have a comprehension of the continuity and change that occurs in the lives of people from which the music comes. Colonization, which was accompanied by devastation of Delaware population and culture, displacement, and forced relocation, also resulted in transmission of the Delaware Skin Dance to the Iroquois. In this section, I sketch the movement of distressed Delaware populations to Iroquois communities and their smaller satellite communities and cogitate about the state of their musical traditions at this time. I aver that Iroquois satellite communities where many Delaware found refuge allowed a certain degree of freedom not found in other environments at the time and this lack of restrictions was favorable to continued practice of their musical traditions.

Strangely, although many tribes were removed from their homelands in a manner similar to that experienced by present-day refugees, few historians have treated American Indians as refugee populations (Hauptman 1980, 129). Hauptman corrects this misdirection, arguing that,

“Native Americans in the sweeping history of Indian-white relations must be seen as refugees, frequently dispersed and consolidated, often at the whims of policy-makers. Only in a refugee context can the Indian side of the New World drama of colonization and expansion be fully understood” (Hauptman 1980, 138-139). I feel the need to first outline the movement of Delaware refugee populations seeking harbor among the Iroquois in order to show that the cultural expressions, including music, they transported to Iroquoia should be seen in the context of displaced refugee music. I suggest that Hauptman’s approach to viewing populations like the Delaware as refugees is important in our approach to understanding continuity, change, and loss of their music over time, the study of which may be enriched in the future through comparison with these themes in refugee communities around the world.

Delaware refugees seeking shelter among the Six Nations is not a unique example. In “Refugee Havens: The Iroquois Villages of the Eighteenth Century,” a chapter in *American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History*, edited by Christopher Vecsey and Robert Venables, Laurence Hauptman writes, “The colonial records are filled with instances of American Indians seeking refuge with kindred or more powerful nations. The most frequently documented instances are the refugee havens under Iroquois Confederacy aegis along the Upper Susquehanna River Valley and the environs south and west of the Mohawk Valley” (Hauptman 1980, 130). According to Hauptman, in the eighteenth century alone, the Catskill, Conoy, Esopus, Housatonic, Mahican, Miami, Mohegan, Montauk, Nanticoke, Narrangansett, Saponi, Shawnee, Susquehannock, Tuscarora, and Wappinger sought refuge in Indian towns in this region. “From approximately 1714 to 1785,” writes Hauptman, “consolidated remnant populations often referred to in the historical literature as Brothertown, Long Island, New England, River, and Stockbridge Indians found their way to the roots of the ‘Great Tree of

Peace,’ the metaphor for Iroquois Confederacy protection and suzerainty.” Refugee settlements for displaced Indian populations included “Oquaga (Onaquaga and numerous other spellings), Otsiningo (Chenango), the two most important towns, as well as Brothertown, Chemung, Chugnuts, New Stockbridge, Owego, Tioga, and Unadilla” (Hauptman 1980, 129-130).⁹ Wars, land dispossession, and European colonial expansion were the main factors contributing to the development of these refugee communities on the North Branch of the Susquehanna and elsewhere in Iroquoia (Hauptman 1980, 130). Refugee towns served the needs of Algonquian refugees needing a place to go, but also served the defense needs of the Iroquois and English (Hauptman 1980, 130). In “From Frontier to Border Along the Iroquois Southern Door,” Cobb discusses Iroquois’ construction of creolized, multi-ethnic towns consisting of Atlantic seaboard refugee populations. Iroquois representatives also lived in the towns. Cobb explains that refugee groups were not only welcomed in Iroquoia, but also that the Haudenosaunee actively sought out populations to live in the region between them and the colonial “Other” (Cobb 2008, 110, 118). Cobb sees this process of adoption as an expanded version of the Haudenosaunee’s long-time practice of absorbing refugees and war prisoners, which they began extending to unprecedented lengths (Cobb 2008, 118).

Europeans first came to what is now the northeastern United States and had contact with Delaware populations in the 1500s. By the 1600s Iroquois nations played an increasingly influential role in Delaware interactions with colonists. Probably the most studied aspect of Delaware-Iroquois relations is the Six Nations’ “making women” of the Delaware.

⁹ Oquaga is present-day Colesville, New York; Otsiningo is present-day Binghamton, New York; Chugnuts is to the south opposite Binghamton; Chemung is Chemung, New York; Tioga is Athens, Pennsylvania; New Stockbridge is Stockbridge and Vernon, New York (Hauptman 1980, 204).

Conversations surrounding this topic, discussing the extent to which the Iroquois subordinated the Delaware, placing themselves in position to deal directly with Europeans and stripping the Delaware of their ability to make independent negotiations, go back to colonial writings. In particular, Moravians, historians, and scholars including John Heckewelder, David Zeisberger, George Loskiel, Frank Speck, Anthony Wallace, Lewis Henry Morgan, and C. A. Weslager, have been active voices in this conversation (Heckewelder 1991 [1876]; Zeisberger, Wellenreuther and Wessel 2005; Loskiel 1794; Speck 1946, 377-389; Wallace 305; Morgan 1962, 477; Weslager 1947; Weslager 1944). The root of tensions between the Haudenosaunee and Delaware is important to consider for our present study of music because it contributes to an understanding of the relationship between Delaware refugees and the communities they entered.

According to Heckewelder, the Delaware were labeled “women” by consent, in the early 17th century at “Nordman’s Kill” near present day Albany (Heckewelder 1991 [1876], xxviii). A vivid picture of the event is painted in the writing of Moravian historian Loskiel, which Speck interprets in the following quotation.

The Delaware, so their story went, accepted this respected position as matrons. During a ceremony that marked the occasion, the Iroquois, according to the Delaware version, are supposed to have said: "We dress you in a woman's long habit reaching down to your feet and adorn you with ear rings," meaning that they should not take up arms again. "We hang a calabash filled with oil and medicine on your arms," meaning that they should use the oil to clean the ears of those who could not distinguish good from evil, and also use the medicine to heal those walking in evil. "We deliver unto your hands a plant of Indian corn and a hoe," meaning that they should thereafter be as women. Later the Delaware claimed that they had been duped, their independence forfeited, their autonomy humiliated. After accepting the pact in good faith, they said that they found they had sacrificed their individual rights and the Five Nations were exploiting them and that they were helpless to retaliate, having obligated themselves by their sacred word of honor which could not be broken. (Speck 1946, 378)

In “becoming women” the Delaware laid down arms and worked to preserve peace between tribes; they also relinquished their ability to make land negotiations, which placed the Iroquois in

an intermediary or middleman position between them and colonists. Feminization was seen as a derogatory designation in the eyes of whites. But I argue that this was not the case for the Delaware or the Iroquois, who are matrilineal and hold women in the highest esteem in their societies. For the Delaware, accepting the role of women meant a change in social and political standing. This point of view is underscored by Speck, who writes, “While it is true that the local ‘Delawares’ were accepted as women into the Six Nations Confederacy, it was not in the sense of inferiority, as the white man’s term ‘wearing petticoats’ implies, but in fact, as the term implies in the Indian meaning, as advisers and moderators. Its deeper meaning lay in the theory of their origin from mother earth and womanhood” (Speck and Peters 1945).

Yet, some Delaware were bitter with the Iroquois, feeling that Haudenosaunee used tactics of self-preservation at their expense. Heckewelder expressed the opinion of his Delaware acquaintances, who felt subjugated by the Iroquois, telling him, “They would sell the lands of other nations to the English and receive the money, pretending to a paramount right to the whole territory, and this, say the Lenape, was their manner of CONQUERING NATIONS!” (Heckewelder 1991 [1876], 70). In 1736 the Haudenosaunee sold Munsee and Unami Delaware land between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers below the Kittatiny Ridge (Grumet 2009, xxviii). In 1742 they directed the Munsee to leave their lands claimed by the Walking Purchase and move to the Susquehanna River Valley.

The Munsee people, whose homeland spanned twelve thousand square miles from the Atlantic Ocean to the Appalachian Mountains, were dispossessed of this land by the mid-1700s (Grumet 2009, 4, 12). By 1754, during the Albany Congress, Haudenosaunee chiefs had sold nearly all Native lands in Pennsylvania at private meetings with Pennsylvania and Connecticut colonists (Grumet 2009, xxix). Heckewelder writes, “The Delawares and Mohicans believed

that the white people, first the Dutch and then the English, did all that was in their power to make the Mengwe [Iroquois] a great people, so that they might rule over them and all other nations, and ‘that they had done what they wanted them to do,’ &c” (Heckewelder 1991 [1876], xxx-xxi).

The Delaware and other smaller nations became tributary nations of the Haudenosaunee. Robert Grumet describes how the Iroquois used marriage relationships in their acquisition of power and subjugated smaller nations as colonization progressed.

Power differences between people in Munsee and Mohawk countries during contact period times were expressed in various ways. Surviving records indicate that Mohawks and other Five Nations people rarely moved away to marry into Indian families in the Munsee homeland. Instead, they made it their practice to adopt and marry Munsees and other foreigners forced or invited to live among them. This allowed them to draw increasing numbers of foreign children and marriageable spouses into their towns to recoup losses and bolster strength. Successes and failures of such efforts were reflected in terms their diplomats used to address foreigners in councils. The initial Iroquois use of terms like brethren, cousin, and nephew when referring to those of smaller nations like Munsees in early councils gave way to the later practice of calling them women and children on formal occasions. These changes show that, in councils at least, Five Nations people increasingly saw themselves more as husband and fathers than as siblings or age mates as their power grew and that of smaller nations declined. (Grumet 2009, 10)

Although the Haudenosaunee subsequently declared the Delaware “men” again at the Treaty of Greenville, Ohio in 1795, the designation of “women” persisted and continued to influence their treatment of the Delaware (Heckewelder 1991 [1876], xxxix; Miller 1974, 509-510). The fact that tensions surrounding the Haudenosaunee’s making the Delaware “women” remained an underlying source of strife for years to come is depicted in an incident relayed from Jesse Moses to Frank Speck, who writes, “Chief Montour did not merit the confidence of his people, for while he was duly appointed to the Chieftainship, the older men report that before he was allowed to take his seat in the Six Nations Council, they demanded that he acknowledge the humiliation by the Six Nations of them having made the Delawares wear petticoats. Which, I’m told, he did” (Speck and Peters 1945).

Although tensions between Delaware and Haudenosaunee people inarguably existed, it is equally undeniable that a great deal of friendship and kinship existed between them and it is important to consider the multidimensional complexity of their relationship. The Delaware who were pushed to Iroquoia came from related but separate Algonquin communities. This sheds light on our understanding of continuity and change in their music, because it highlights the fact that refugees were a heterogeneous, not homogeneous, population who probably had similar musical traditions but who possessed songs individual to them and their ancestors' villages of origin. The diversity of Delaware populations who came to live among the Iroquois is described well in the following quote from Speck, who discusses the Delaware at Six Nations.

I believe it is evident that we have in the Oshweken Delaware band domiciled for almost two centuries with the Six Nations, a group of co-residents blended and fused into a political unit derived from Mahican, Munsee, and Pennsylvania Delawares proper (probably the Unami of early narratives). The ethnic derivation just pointed out traces descent from tribes closely related in their original culture properties, and closely enough in their idioms of Algonkian to have been mutually communicable. Ancestral tradition in the families of the band vouches for a predominance of influence, in the gross population, from Mahican and Munsee sources, though it would be beyond reason to make an estimate of the relative proportions of tribal extraction. (Speck and Peters 1945)

Although the music refugees brought to Six Nations probably came from several Algonquin ethnic groups, given the fact that they overcame linguistic and cultural differences with ease, I suggest the same held true for their musical exchange.

Movement of Delaware people to Iroquoia was a complex process, having taken part over the course of many years and separately by many different groups; therefore, tracking, say, a group of people from a particular village as they were uprooted from their community, moved to an Iroquois community, and subsequently were absorbed into that community or moved on, is particularly difficult. Here, I will provide an overview of some historically documented movements as well as a couple of detailed examples of these migrations.

In the 1740s, displaced Delaware people were forced by land cessions to move to Six Nations' territories while the main body of Delaware were removed farther and farther west. Some Northern Unami Delaware, Munsee-speaking Delaware, as well as Nanticoke people, did not join the western body and became tribal "satellites" of the Iroquois (Goddard 1978, 223).

The Oshweken Delawares, as we infer from tradition, did not join the main stream of migration of the people which, it is supposed, went directly west from Pennsylvania and New York. They diverged, it would seem, from the main body of the nation about the middle of the 18th century in the upper Susquehanna, let us say after 1742 at Wyoming, separating from the main body which withdrew to the Allegheny valley between 1724 and 1751, whence it struck out for the Ohio valley. By 1770 the removal was well under way. The events which led subsequently to the dispersion of this nucleus are: Some crossed Lake Ontario to find a haven among the English of Ontario after the American Revolution and founding the Delaware Mission settlements at Moraviantown (1790) and Munceytown, Ontario. The rest continued westward to Indiana and Missouri (1796-1820), then to Kansas (1835), and finally to the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory (1867). (Speck and Peters 1945)

Cobb gives an example of how the Haudenosaunee commonly brought smaller Algonquian groups to live among them.

In 1753 the Haudenosaunee sent a delegation to Mahicans and Delawares living in the region of Bethlehem, PA. The delegation forwarded an invitation (and thinly veiled threat) from the Six Nation 'Uncles,' for the groups to relocate to the Upper Susquehanna with the explicit purpose of buffering Iroquoia from Euro-American encroachment. The Mahicans and Delaware were thus offered both residence and protection for their willingness to live in the frontier—an offer that was eventually taken up. (Cobb 2008, 118)

Hauptman provides another example in his discussion of Esopus¹⁰ relocation from Kingston, New York in 1756, behind which one sees Sir William Johnson—the Indian Representative for New York who was highly respected by the Haudenosaunee—strengthening his relations with the Mohawk and building British-allied Indian forces (Hauptman 1980, 131-132).

Colonel Johannes Hardenbergh and several others wrote to Johnson asking him what to

¹⁰ Esopus are a Munsee-speaking band of Delaware Indians.

do with the “40 or 50 of the same Nation [Esopus] of Indians” that remained in that city [Kingston, New York]. Johnson then approached the Mohawks about his dilemma. Three days later the Mohawks accepted responsibility for these unfortunate victims of war and agreed to go to Esopus country to persuade the River Indians to relocate at the Mohawk’s “lower castle” in the Schoharie... Upon arrival at Fort Johnson in April, May, and July 1756, Johnson assured the River tribesmen that their Mohawk “Uncles” would protect them as long as the Indians behaved themselves, were sober and industrious, and were faithful to the king of England by fighting the French. (Hauptman 1980, 132)

As Pennsylvania declared war on the Delaware and Shawnee, the Delaware were under an increasingly great amount of pressure (Grumet 2009, xxx). Additional Esopus relocations occurred by permission of Johnson in May 1764 and again in 1768 (Hauptman 1980, 132).

The Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown Indians were already refugees when they came to live among the Oneida people in 1774 (Venables 1980, 141). It would not be long before they and their hosts would be relocated. Between 1821 and 1848 the Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown populations, as well as some of the Oneida people, were removed from New York to Wisconsin, where they sought refuge among the Menominee (Venables 1980, 140-141). Venables writes, “The relationship between these three Algonquian groups and the Oneidas was never stabilized because of the turmoil of the Revolutionary, post-Revolutionary, and removal crises. However, the relationship can perhaps best be described briefly as one of subject-ally to patron-protector” (Venables 1980, 141). This relationship mirrors what occurred in other Iroquois communities where Delaware people sought sanctuary. Prior to their removal, the Oneida, Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown people were missionized for over a century and lived in log cabin settlements similar to their white neighbors (Venables 1980, 143). It is likely that their musical traditions and language were already suffering. They learned Christian songs. In 1827 after a meeting with them in Butte des Morts, Wisconsin, Commissioner McKenney writes how impressed he is with their three-part hymn singing (Venables 1980, 146).

Most Munsee people still in their homeland were forced into exile ten years prior to the

beginning of the American Revolution (Grumet 2009, 4). Northern Unami populations who did not join their Delaware relations in the west became tribal satellites of the Six Nations. Those who retained their identity after the American Revolution went to live with the Iroquois on Grand River, now Six Nations Reserve, in Ontario, Canada, as did other remnant Delaware (Goddard 1978, 222; Goddard 1978, 222; Speck 1927, 22; Diamond, Cronk and Von Rosen 1994b, 187; Deardorff 1946, 2; Hays 1954, 63; Johnston 1964, 38, 52). In 1784, Delaware, Nanticoke, Tutelo, Creek, and Cherokee people accompanied Joseph Brant and fellow Iroquois Loyalists from New York State to land in Ontario, granted to them by Sir Frederick Haldimand as restitution for their losses during the war. The Delaware settled there with the Cayuga (Weaver 1978, 525). In 1791 a Munsee band traveled up the Allegheny River to live with the Seneca (Goddard 1978, 222).

Of particular interest to our consideration of how Delaware culture and music came to the Iroquois are the satellite villages arranged by the Iroquois during the eighteenth-century. According to Cobb, it is uncertain how many settlements existed along the Susquehanna River; he concentrates his work on four important towns: Onaquaga, Otsiningo, Chuggnuts [Chugnuts], and Owego (Cobb 2008, 119). Onaquaga was settled by the Oneida, who were joined by Tuscarora and Delaware refugees (Cobb 2008, 110; Smith 1989, 130-135). All four towns were subsequently burnt during Sullivan's March, by order of George Washington during the Revolutionary War (Cobb 2008, 123). Although these ethnically mixed villages usually had assigned Haudenosaunee representatives who oversaw the settlement, Cobb points out that a great deal of freedom existed.

In an interesting parallel with the British Crown, the Haudenosaunee leadership practiced their own form of salutary neglect with the border towns: as long as allegiance to the confederacy was not in doubt, the towns were free to organize their own economic and social interests. The result appears to have been a somewhat freewheeling corridor where

social, gender, and racial categories and stereotypes were much more relaxed than among either the Haudenosaunee to the north, or the colonials to the south and east. (Cobb 2008, 120)

I suggest that this freedom extended to ceremonial and social activities that included music and that this liberty allowed for continuation of musical traditions. For the Delaware, and Indigenous people around the world, music is intimately connected with and in some cases inseparable from ceremonial or social traditions. In remembering that these refugees were remnant populations gathered in creolized villages, it is probable that this situation gathered a diversity of music.

The historical record is speckled with accounts that give us insight on the state of musical traditions. Of the limited reports we find, many of them come from the journals of Moravian missionaries, who began their involvement with the Delaware around 1740 near present-day Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. On the 24th of May, 1760, Christian Frederick, a Moravian missionary at Atsingnetsing,¹¹ writes:

Their priests or conjurers, with about ten women, went first into the woods to paint themselves according to their different characters, their whole bodies were painted all over with various colors, some with the addition of rattlesnakes, some with squirrels, others with trees, birds, etc. Thus adorned, or rather disfigured, they came all in a row into the town singing as they went. One of them began singing: "I saw two English birds flying together in love," which all repeated again four times, after which they went in procession four times round the meeting house and then turning their faces toward sunrise hallowing all together as long as they had any breath; Then they shook hands with one another and called all the people to enter the house with them, where they continued walking, singing, and hallowing the whole day and night until six o'clock in the morning, when a certain spirit came over them and many wept bitterly. (Grumet 2001, 34-35)

Frederick's account underscores the importance of singing in Delaware ceremonials. It also highlights the fact that, although Delaware refugees were dislocated from their homelands, they retained a semblance of their own distinctly Delaware community, which continued its own

¹¹ Near Corning, New York, near the Chemung River, which flows into the Susquehanna at Tioga Point in Athens, Pennsylvania. Atsingnetsing (Assinsink) is a Delaware word referring to the stone in that place.

ceremonies.

Moravian missionary David Zeisberger had a long relationship with the Delaware. He lived with them well over half a century, was fluent in their language, and authored some of the most significant sources on Delaware language as well as numerous journals and texts examining the history and lives of the Delaware. The descendants of Munsee Delaware people with whom Zeisberger worked are often referred to as the “Moravian Delaware” and live at Moraviantown on the Delaware First Nation reserve in Ontario. Of all Delaware people, they have been the most adept at preserving their language. Although the Moravian Delaware were able to preserve their language, they lost much of their music. Although in most cases, Christian missionizing can be cited as a primary force in the loss of Indigenous language, culture, ceremonies, and music, the Delaware-Moravian relationship was unique in that the Moravians encouraged missionizing, praying, and singing in the Delaware’s native language. This is not to say that conversion did not eventually contribute to loss of culture, including music, but the process experienced by the Moravian Delaware stands in contrast to Native people missionized by other faiths. In Zeisberger’s observations, he comments on change in Delaware ceremonies.

Worship and sacrifices have obtained among them from the earliest times, being usages handed down from their ancestors. Though in the detail of ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time, worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites. (Zeisberger, Hulbert and Schwarze 1910, 136-141)

The splintering of Delaware communities physically and politically influenced ceremonial practices and, in turn, music. Yet, Delaware refugees in Iroquois communities at Six Nations were able to hold on to their ceremonies for quite some time; Speck writes that performance of ceremonies in the Big House at Six Nations ended in 1832 as a result of actions by Native missionary G.H.M. Johnson, Mohawk, and John Wampum, most likely a Delaware,

who reportedly destroyed images in the Big House with axes (Speck and Peters 1945). A large portion of the Delaware population, including those who moved to Six Nations, resisted conversion to Christianity during Moravian evangelization in Pennsylvania from 1724 to 1750 (Speck and Peters 1945). This too probably helped preserve their music and ceremonies from being lost.

In *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth*, Frank Speck¹² writes about the Munsee-Mahican band's annual bear sacrifice festival, which ceased in 1850 (Speck and Peters 1945). The ancestors of the people of whom he writes separated themselves from the main migration of Delaware to the Ohio region and sought refuge among the similarly unconverted Iroquois. This diverse group of Algonquians, Munsee-Mahicans, as he calls them, were adopted by the Six Nations, who were anti-Christian until a period around 1844-52 (Speck and Peters 1945). Delaware people who settled among the Haudenosaunee at Six Nations were among the most conservative, traditionalist, unconverted families, although they later accepted conversion around 1850 (Speck and Peters 1945).

According to Speck, the Big House is a sky projection set on earth with the constellation Ursa Major projected on the Big House floor, where beings living on earth were brought together with spirits above the earthly plane, a concept alluded to in their song lyrics and terminology.

In the rituals themselves, the departed spirits of relatives and friends are believed to be present side by side with the living as visitors from the sky to the earth and the living. The words of ritual songs occasionally express this sort of mutualism. While one may sense it as implicit in much that is carried out in ceremonies of the Iroquois and other eastern peoples, it seldom seems openly explicit or specific. This could indeed be a sign

¹² Artifacts collected by Speck are housed at the Reading [Pennsylvania] Public Museum and Art Gallery. During my visit there I had the opportunity to see many of the cultural objects he discussed in *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth*, which were collected at Six Nations. The collections also hold cultural objects he collected from the Delaware in Oklahoma.

of its depth in native religious mentality! (Speck and Peters 1945)

Speck's writing shows us that while living among the Iroquois, the Delaware continued to use ceremony and music to renew the relationship between earth beings and sky beings. Some Delaware individuals also continued speaking their language. In the mid 1940s Speck interviewed Josiah Montour, *Axkookshush* or "Little Snake," born in 1872, who was one of the last speakers of the Munsee Delaware dialect at Six Nations Reserve, Ontario.

According to a letter Jesse Moses wrote Speck in February 1940, there was a Cayuga woman named Granny Montour in the settlement at Six Nations whose home served as a meeting place for traditional dances into the 1890s. Moses writes:

We know that the Lower Cayuga use some of the Delaware songs and dances in their worship. It seems that they have become confused with their own, so it is difficult to say where they originated. I am told that in the early days on this reserve, the Lower Cayuga and Delaware feast days, ceremonies, and observations were identical. The Upper Cayuga now say they have the true religion. This coparticipation by the Lower Cayuga and Delawares probably accounts for quite a number of the songs used in the Lower Cayuga Long House having no meaning for them. Some of the songs are quite recognizable as Delaware. There is one feast day on which they sing particularly for the Delawares, and we are invited to attend. (Speck and Peters 1945)

The music Delaware people brought with them to Iroquois communities changed slowly over time in both form and function. Moses' letter describes how through this gradual transition, origination and meaning for some songs were lost as they were integrated into Haudenosaunee practice. Delaware songs' shift in function from ceremonial to social and from a clearly distinguished Delaware identity to a Delaware-Iroquois or purely Iroquois categorization seems to have occurred over the last century or so. In the next section, I will discuss how Delaware people and Delaware songs were integrated separately into Haudenosaunee communities and culture.

Incorporation of Delaware Populations and Culture in Iroquois Communities

Delaware populations who sought refuge in Iroquoia were gradually integrated into their sponsor's respective communities. Through their incorporation, Iroquoia culture had an increasing influence on Delaware culture; at the same time, Delaware culture was deteriorating. But Delaware culture also influenced the Iroquois, particularly their musical culture, and the Delaware Skin Dance is a living example of this influence. From study of this example, I argue that the Iroquois integrated Delaware residents and musical culture separately. Because of this, Delaware people and Delaware music experienced continuity and change quite differently.

In his article "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquoian Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," published in *Man in the Northeast*, Lynch describes the adoption of foreign individuals and groups into Haudenosaunee society, classifying two forms of adoption that occurred from the early historic era to the French and Indian wars: assimilative and associative. Assimilative adoption involves the "complete absorption of an individual into a social group" who, once adopted, "became a person with the identity, status, rights, and obligations of the individual being replaced." The replaced individual is a deceased relative who may have been killed in war or by illness. Lynch writes that the associative type of adoption is a derivative of the assimilative process that may have taken shape after European contact. I see the possibility of this kind of adoption having deeper roots, perhaps occurring between tribal representatives traveling to distant villages in ancient times. The associative adoption "is transformative, yet not assimilative. The other identity remains, existing side by side with the new. There isn't any transitional state of liminality, nor is it in this case solely a female prerogative. One simply acquires an Iroquoian identity along with his or her own"

(Lynch 1965, 88). According to Lynch, the category of “Prisoner” represented those taken in who were candidates for assimilative adoption. The symbol of the “Tree of Peace” represented those who would undergo the associative adoption process. “Both symbols played a crucial roll [sic] in determining how an adopted group or nation was received by the Confederacy and what sort of relationship existed between the two after the fact,” writes Lynch. Prisoners would be subjected to political extinction and assimilated. “Just as an individual’s prior identity was purged in an assimilative adoption, a group or nation was also reduced to its skeleton” (Lynch 1965, 90). Those who submitted to the Iroquois Confederacy were often welcomed into Iroquois communities and accorded with land to live on and places to stay. Group adoptions, according to Lynch, had been extensions of assimilative or associative processes. “In this situation it appears that the adoption of groups and nations was a historical adaptation to a new set of political and social realities,” he writes (Lynch 1965, 97).

While one might describe Delaware adoptions from the period Lynch addresses as assimilative, what about adoptions occurring after the mid-eighteenth century? The Delaware settled in a corner of the Six Nations Reserve adjoining the Cayuga, who accorded them protection, and whom they called *nii nzhiisak*, meaning my uncles on my mother’s side (Speck and Peters 1945; Miller 1974, 510; League of Six Nations 1971, 76-77). In 1763 they were incorporated into the Six Nations Iroquois (Speck and Peters 1945). The Delaware were denied a vote in the Council of the chiefs of the League, although an official member, like the Cayuga, could represent them. The Cayuga explain that the Delaware were supposed to be on their way to Moraviantown, but never left (Speck and Peters 1945). Speck describes the Delaware as a “nation within the Six Nations” who maintained elements of their cultural and political identity (Speck and Peters 1945). An analysis of Delaware terminology for the group, however, lends a

different interpretation of their place among the Iroquois.

The proper name in use among the Canadian colonies of Delawares for the band in the Six Nations is *Wəcowek'i-wak*, “transformed people,” as translated by the Montours, referring to its mixed Cayuga and Delaware lineage... *Acwi·'kin* (Oshweken) is an Anglicized form of a Delaware verbal past participle translated by the informants variously as “mixed,” “transformed,” “intertwined,” or “crossed over” (with the locative termination)... As explained by Chief Joseph Montour, its free translation signified “crossed over,” as a branch of a tree which crosses over to grow on another trunk. To Josiah Montour it signified a people “transformed” in their ways of life, as though by emigration from an original home to another place of residence, with wide consequent changes in status and culture. To some others it denoted simply the mixture with Iroquois (especially Cayuga) attendant upon adoption by them and co-residence in the same territory. (Speck and Peters 1945)

Metaphors of transformation inherently imply that a significant shift has taken place, whereas envisioning the Delaware as a “nation within the Six Nations” emphasizes a sense of continuity, even though change occurred. According to the census, the Delaware population at Six Nations of the Grand River in 1785 was 231 persons. In addition to Delaware individuals there was a population of 1,612 Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Tuscarora, Oneida, Seneca, Nanticoke, Tutelo, and “other” individuals recorded (Johnston 1964:52). Although this number fluctuated over the years, in 1973 there was a similar Delaware population of 256 people. The total number of Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Tuscarora, Oneida, and Seneca, however, had greatly increased to a population of 8,995 (Six Nations Agency, Official Band Lists). The Tuscarora, Nanticoke, Delaware, and Tutelo were considered dependent nations. After 1900 there is no population count for persons who were Nanticoke, Tutelo, or “other” (Weaver 1978, 527).

Weaver writes that the Nanticoke and Tutelo were not officially recognized as separate tribes in the census after the mid-nineteenth century, although their chiefs remained in council until 1924 when all chiefs were removed from power. The Delaware remained the smallest population of all registered groups. “Although the dependent nations were to speak through ‘their voice,’ the Cayugas, in fact they often directly addressed the assembly of chiefs, and

operated quite independently, though not equaling the original five nations in power or status,” says Weaver (Weaver 1978, 528). While the Delaware population was increasingly integrated into Haudenosaunee society, particularly through intermarriage with their Iroquois hosts,¹³ the Delaware Skin Dance retained its distinct “otherness;” rather than being used to fill the space of missing cultural components—as foreigners were used to bolster Iroquois populations, it served to enrich existing musical traditions. It too has undergone a form of transformation in the sense that over time its function has shifted from ceremonial to social.

For the Delaware, the transformative process was and is a great asset to their survival skills. Robert Grumet compares the Munsee’s ability to play off shifting alliances to their advantage, during the colonial period, to anthropologist Edward Spicer’s definition of enduring people, who are able to “sustain persistent identity systems that allow them ‘to maintain continuity in the experience and conception of themselves in a wide variety of sociocultural environments’” (Grumet 2009, 12). This attitude provided them with the ability to maintain a consistent sense of identity while living with different people in different places and going by different names (Grumet 2009, 12). Delaware refugees, who were spread not only to Iroquoia but also as far as Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and Ontario, used their skills of adaptation to survive in diverse social and physical environments far from home. Grumet describes his theory of Delaware remembrance of homeland.

Those mourning over bodies no longer habitable by souls also interred names of the deceased. They felt that mentioning a dead person’s name could rekindle old longings and revive lingering animosities among the dead as well as the living. Souls of the dead hearing their names spoken by the living might respond by returning to old haunts. Once there, they might entice spirits of beloved relatives and old enemies to join them in death.

¹³ Albeit a smaller percentage, some Iroquois who perform the Delaware Skin Dance are likely Delaware descendants whose ancestors were absorbed into the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

By the same logic, mentioning names of lost places might do the same thing, kindling unappeasable longing for an irretrievably lost homeland. Such beliefs would have helped convince many people that they should at least put potentially magical names of past places and people behind them. (Grumet 2009, 8)

For the same reasons, Delaware people may also have been eager to learn and accept Iroquois culture. It is difficult to locate at what point during processes of relocation and intermarriage the identity shift from Delaware to Iroquois occurred, because the transition was gradual. The Delaware who came to Six Nations maintained distinct ceremonies, language, and music into the twentieth century and are conscious of their Delaware ancestry today, but Delaware remnant people who joined other Iroquois communities are more difficult to trace, perhaps because their numbers were smaller, they were adopted under different terms, or they were integrated into the community more quickly. Like the Delaware at Six Nations, Munsee refugees who settled among the Seneca kept their cultural identity through the nineteenth century.

Just as Delaware assimilation into Iroquois society was a gradual process, the Haudenosaunee's learning of the Delaware Skin Dance probably was as well. We catch a glimpse of this process from the liner notes of the 1969 *Iroquois Social Dance Songs* album, produced by Iroqrafts, which states,

This dance came to the Iroquois when the few score Ohsweken Delaware abandoned their traditions. This was a relatively recent loss as Iroquois men in their 70's recall dancing in their youth "over on Delaware line" (a Reserve road along which the Delaware had clustered) with singing from old Delaware men...Some older people maintain these recorded songs came from the Allegany Seneca who danced this more than the...(Ohsweken people) used to. (Iroqrafts 1969)

Some say the Delaware Skin Dance was gifted from the Delaware to the Iroquois for safekeeping during a time when their culture was suffering and they did not have singers who could continue to sing and teach the songs. They asked the Iroquois to hold onto the songs for them (Schenandoah 2008). Whether the Delaware Skin Dance originated from Delaware populations

at Six Nations or Allegany has been difficult to ascertain, although it is apparent that in the past there were differences between these communities' Delaware Skin Dance song repertoires (Jimerson 2010). Another glance at evolution of the Delaware Skin Dance leading to the popularity it has today comes from Gertrude Kurath's review of the Irocrafts album. "The secular dances of exotic origin are significant, for they demonstrate the Iroquois manner of accepting outside influences into their rich and already composite repertoire...The Delaware Skin Dance on Record 1 is an oddball cycle. An obsolescent vestige from Delaware refugees, it apparently is regaining favor" (Kurath, Buck, Spragge, Thomas and Spittal 1970, 189, 190).

The details of exactly how the Iroquois learned Delaware music remain speculative. Despite the rhythmic and lyric complexity of Delaware music, the similarities between Delaware and Iroquois music would have been to the Iroquois individual's advantage in learning Delaware songs. Munsee and Unami Delaware have stark linguistic differences from Six Nations' languages. In fact, according to Grumet, Iroquoian languages are as different from and Algonquian languages as Japanese is from English (Grumet 2009, 9). Therefore, it is even more significant to note that their song and dance styles possess prominent similarities in melody, rhythm, and have bipartite structure consisting of a section in rhythmically free meter followed by a section with a steady beat, suggested by the late ethnomusicologist David McAllester as evidence of a "general Eastern Woodlands musical style" (Grumet 2009, 9; Dunn 2005, 100). These similarities help explain the ease with which the Delaware Skin Dance was integrated into the complex of Haudenosaunee social dance music.

Eventually the Delaware Skin Dance lost its association with any particular group of Delaware refugees and entered a new space where its performance gained popularity across Iroquois communities. Through this process, it developed an attachment to the Iroquois singers

who fostered the dance over generations. Meanwhile, the Haudenosaunee's systematic arrangement and protocol for receiving foreign nations encouraged Delaware persons to accept Iroquois culture in place of their own. Thus the paths of Delaware refugees and their music diverged; although both integrated into Haudenosaunee society and culture, the manner in which they were blended followed separate routes.

The Great Law of Peace, also known as the Great Binding Law or Constitution of the Six Nations Confederacy, developed by the Great Peacemaker Deganawida and his spokesman Hiawatha, describes the concessions expected from those individuals adopted by the Six Nations:

When the adoption of anyone shall have been confirmed by the chiefs of the Nation the chiefs shall address the people of the Nation and say: 'Now you of our nation, be informed that (such a person, such a family, or such families) have ceased forever to bear their birth nation's name and have buried it in the depth of the earth. Henceforth let no one of our nation ever mention the original name or nation of their birth. To do so will hasten the end of our peace. (League of Six Nations 1971, 70)

In earlier times, these guidelines in the Great Law of Peace applied to the adoption of conquered peoples. As we know, Delaware people kept their traditions alive for years after they came to Iroquoia. Yet, traces of the Great Law's continual strengthening of Iroquois culture likely prevailed in a manner that drew many Delaware to participate and accept Iroquois traditions through their inclusion in Haudenosaunee society. Whereas some tribes' approach to survival was tenacity in the face of colonization, the Delaware experience underscores their need to also depend on their ability to adapt and be malleable to change; in other words, they transformed themselves in whatever way was needed for survival.

In examining the Delaware Skin Dance alongside the historical record, I recognize the dance as a symbolic remnant of Haudenosaunee relations with Delaware refugees, the conditions under which the Six Nations took them under wing, and the manner in which they were

integrated into Iroquois society. Studying the dance enriches our understanding of how the Iroquois incorporate foreign music into their own musical tradition and emphasizes that taking custody of music is separate from adoption of foreign individuals. In addition to the role the dance plays today in bringing Iroquois communities together in celebration, it also acknowledges the Delaware and reestablishes balance in the ancient Haudenosaunee-Delaware relationship in accord with the arrangement by which they were integrated into Iroquois society as a tributary, dependent nation. While removed from its original context in the Delaware Big House, continued performance of the Delaware Skin Dance fulfills instructions in the Great Law of Peace that “the rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed and shall continue as before, because they were given by the people of old times as useful and necessary for the good of men” (League of Six Nations 1971, 99).

CHAPTER 3

THE DELAWARE SKIN DANCE SONGS

This chapter is dedicated to taking a closer look at the Delaware Skin Dance songs through examination of performance soundscapes, song diversity and distribution, lyric analysis, and music analysis. I analyze these elements through participant observation, extensive study of Delaware Skin Dance recordings, and through the information shared with me by Haudenosaunee singers. I argue that today's performance soundscape in the Longhouse has much in common with the ancient sonic environment of the Delaware Big House; on the other hand, social dances held in spaces outside the Longhouse take place in a much different environment.

Song diversity and distribution vary between Iroquois communities. Singing is learned through the oral tradition and singers generally perform Delaware Skin Dance song sets in the order and manner they learned them. Each Iroquois community has its own "singer genealogy" that in some cases can be traced by following the writings of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists who interviewed musical specialists over the decades. Of course the singers' lineages are best known by the singers themselves, who have a rich knowledge of which elders taught which singers and how these genealogies overlap with other communities from relationships developed through friendship and intermarriage; knowledgeable singers can often tell who a singer learned from just by hearing him sing.

Examining variation in Delaware Skin Dance song texts is the best avenue toward assessing continuity and change in the songs. Because there are no early recordings of the songs, study of present-day song diversity provides the best view of lyric change. Lyric analysis also

reveals specific sounds and patterns used in a number of songs. Further, musical analysis illustrates similarities between all Delaware Skin Dance songs in length, form, tempo, and vocal aesthetics, making them a genre distinguishable from Haudenosaunee music and the music of the Unami Delaware in Oklahoma.

Soundscape: Elements of the Sonic Environment

Delaware epistemology acknowledges the dynamic interconnectivity between all living things and their relations who are in a constant state of active engagement in the world. As discussed in Chapter 2, music and dance were used in maintaining equilibrium in these relationships by asking for successful hunts and growing seasons and giving thanks for the food obtained from the animals and plants that helped sustain life. Animals and plants were also used in the construction of musical instruments used in ritual. There was no degree of separation between Delaware music and the sonic environment of their Eastern Woodlands homeland; a part of this bond remains embedded in the Delaware Skin Dance even today and tells a story of their ancient past.

According to Mrs. Nora Thompson Dean, one of the last Native born speakers of Unami Delaware in Oklahoma, the Unami term for drummers is *talekaak* (pl.), which Mrs. Dean said refers to Canadian geese (Adams 1977, 21). Harrington and Speck's informants translated the word as crane (Harrington 1921, 85; Speck, Witapanóxwe and Pennsylvania Historical Commission 1931, 117). "The name derives from their function," writes Adams, "which is to repeat the phrase of each recitation just after they are pronounced by the visionary, in the manner that wild geese repeat their leader's calls" (Adams 1977, 21). The Delaware recognized parallels between themselves and other living beings and expressed interconnectivity within the natural world not only in linguistic terminology, but also in musical sound and dance expression.

I speculate that, like a particular Ojibwe drum, the Delaware Skin Drum replicates the sound of buck antlers clanking and the Delaware Skin Dance was used in preparation for hunting.

Also, seemingly unique to Lac Court Oreilles Reservation were hunting sticks (*mitigoons*) that consisted of four eighteen-inch pointed sticks, one-half inches in diameter, beaten together by two men singing hunting songs to attract deer. Noted one resident of the reservation, ‘John Mink said deer will come right into the wigwam sometimes when you sing with the sticks.’ Their power, however, was said to be ineffective if a close relative of one of the hunters was near death.” (Vennum 1982, 39 citing Robert E. Ritzenthaler fieldnotes, 1940-41; expense-account books, spiral-bound notebooks, photographs, etc. Archives of the Anthropology Department, Milwaukee Public Museum, p. 35-36)

Drumming also mirrors other sounds heard in the Delaware’s homeland and in this manner may reflect the soundscapes of their territory. For example, the *xwateemaxkohkwees*, or pileated woodpecker, makes the same intense rhythmic slapping sound when his beak drills into a tree. Resonant drumming sounds are produced by the gobbler *puleew* (turkey) when he struts in the spring and the male *pahpahkuw* (grouse) a bird with an onomatopoetic name that beats its wings to attract a mate.

The sonic environment of today’s Delaware Skin Dance performances at socials in Haudenosaunee Longhouses likely have much in common with ancient performances in Delaware Big Houses. The Big House, a structure built for ceremonial gatherings, probably had similar acoustics to the Iroquois Longhouse. Many environmental sounds of the Northeastern Woodland forests are shared between Iroquoia and Delaware homelands—the wind, rain, sounds of native animals and birds. The Iroquois have worked to sustain continuity in Delaware Skin Dance performance by replicating the sound of the Delaware Skin Drum. In 1969, William Guy Spittle recorded George Buck, Raymond Spragge, and Jacob E. Thomas at Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada singing the Delaware Skin Dance while accompanying themselves by beating

rattle handles on a cornflakes box in an effort to reproduce the sound of the Delaware Skin Drum (Irocrafts 1969). The *Iroquois Social Dance Songs* album liner notes, written by Spittle, give a detailed description of the dance, particularly regarding its accompaniment, which, it is explained, is accomplished by “any percussion producing a sharp, loud sound.” According to the album’s notes, each singer will usually beat the wooden end of his cow horn rattle against the belly of a turtle shell rattle. Also, “on occasion some one has supplied the rimless rawhide head of the non-Iroquois type tom-tom (an interesting parrellel [sic] to the traditional Delaware drum of folded deerskin); a sheet of elm bark is also remembered.” As in today’s Longhouse performances, the bench was also sometimes struck (Irocrafts 1969).

Today, just as happened since time immemorial, dancers’ feet drum the ground to the rhythm of the music. They shout back in response to the lead singer’s call, their clothing making a swooshing sound as they turn and bells jingling louder with each step as the tempo increases. The sounds of joy, excitement, and of small children laughing blend with the music during the celebration. Accompanying environmental sounds are woven into the soundscape and enrich the musical texture. As a performance space, the Longhouse maintains continuity of the Iroquois soundscape; yet, new sounds can be heard—a large truck moans heavily as it rolls by, gravel crunches underneath the tires of a squealing car as it zips out of the parking lot, a plane flies low overhead, and the people chat in English.

Performances outside the Longhouse invite a host of new sounds. They take place in front of public audiences in gymnasiums, university halls, and at outdoor festivals. The audience members clap, snap photographs, talk amongst themselves, text-message, and answer ringing cell phones. Iroquois singers use a hand drum to keep time for the Delaware Skin Dance. Listening closely, subtle differences in vocables and melody are detected in comparing Delaware

Skin Dance songs sung by singers on different branches of the singer family tree.

Song Diversity and Distribution

Seventeenth century Iroquois augmented local diversity by incorporating and assimilating a large number of foreigners, including Iroquoian-speaking Erie, Neutral, Huron, Conestoga, and Tuscarora; Siouan-speaking Catawba, Tutelo, and Saponi; and Algonquian-speaking Delaware and Nanticoke (Fenton 1951, 5). Naturally, these relationships influenced Iroquois music and exchange also occurred in the opposite direction. Kurath specifically mentions the Delaware Skin Dance's contribution of external musical characteristics to Iroquois repertoire.

The Death Feast songs combine their typically Iroquois features with a number of characteristics that are either uncommon or nonexistent in other Iroquois cycles—the syncopated drumbeat, succession of quarter notes, semitones, and pulsating phrase-endings. These features characterize certain songs of tribes coresident at Six Nations Reserve, namely, the Delaware Skin-beating Dance and the Tutelo Four Nights' Dance and Spirit Adoption Ceremony...This suggests musical interassimilation [sic] in both directions during the two centuries of Tutelo coresidence, but conclusive proof is contingent on the recording and study of the complete Four Nights' Dance and other cycles. (Kurath 1951, 118)

My work is concerned with how the processes of “musical interassimilation” influenced Delaware Skin Dance songs over time. I study song diversity and distribution through lyric and music analyses of four well-known Delaware Skin Dance recordings. The albums on which these recordings were released are available for purchase and are also held by Cornell University's Music Library collection.

Examples of Delaware Skin Dance Songs

Example 1: Art Johnson and Lyle Anderson; *Iroquois Social Songs - Volume 2*; 24 minutes 12 seconds

Example 2: George Buck, Raymond Spragge, Jacob E. Thomas; *Iroqrafts: Social Dance Songs*; 6 minutes 5 seconds

Example 3: Kyle Dowdy and Bill Crouse; *Allegany Singers: Earth Songs, Volume II*; 7 minutes
21 seconds

Example 4: Sheldon Sundown & Others; *Smoke Dance Old Style*; 6 minutes 57 seconds

A number of Delaware Skin Dance songs are recorded on each of these four examples. Some Haudenosaunee singers always perform the songs in the same or generally the same order, which corresponds to the organization in which they learned them. Other singers, who learned from several singers or learned by listening to recordings of singers from different communities, may sing whatever song comes to mind. Although they describe the Delaware Skin Dance as being made up of a number of songs, Iroquois singers do not have individual names for them. When discussing a particular song, Iroquois singers will typically sing a small portion of the song to indicate which one they are referring to. Because I require a suitable method to identify and discuss Delaware Skin Dance songs, I assign a name to each one, spelled using the double vowel system used by Munsee Delaware learners. Names are based on lyrics at the beginning of the song or particularly memorable lyrics. Lyrically similar songs were assigned numbers after the title; songs with lyric similarity but a unique melody were assigned a letter after the title. I would like to emphasize that these names are not part of the dance's tradition. I use the names to communicate to readers the specific song I am referring to in the absence of being able to sing portions of the songs for them. In no way do I mean to disrespect the singers or take ownership of the songs. Listed below are the songs represented on each of the four respective example recordings in the order they are sung along with their length.

Track Listings

Example 1: Art Johnson and Lyle Anderson

Song 1: Introduction A	1:16
Song 2: Gwii aa hoo jii nee	0:40
Song 3: Waa gey haa ney-ee A	1:07
Song 4: Waa gey haa ney-ee B	0:52
Song 5: Yoo gii yoo gii yoo	0:54
Song 6: Wi ney	0:46
Song 7: Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee	0:47
Song 8: Yaa wee ha yoo gii hee	0:48
Song 9: Wi ney 3	0:37
Song 10: Wi ney 2	0:49
Song 11: Wii goo yaa nii aa	0:48
Song 12: Yee	0:46
Song 13: Hey waa hii ya	0:50
Song 14: Hey waa hii ya 2	0:47
Song 15: Hey naa wii yoo	0:52
Song 16: Hey naa wii yoo	0:50
Song 17: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo	0:53
Song 18: Hey noo wee nii yoo	0:57
Song 19: Hey naa wii yoo	1:00
Song 20: Yoo ha wee noo	0:49
Song 21: Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee	0:48
Song 22: Geen yoo hoo	0:52
Song 23: Wi ney 3	0:41
Song 24: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo	0:47
Song 25: Hey naa wii yoo B	0:40
Song 26: Hey naa wii yoo	0:51
Song 27: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo	0:58
Song 28: Yoo wii yoo haa hey	0:48
Song 29: Wii goo yaniioo hee naa	0:53
Song 30: Wii goo yaniioo Hangweedooney	0:55
Song 31: Wii goo yaa nii aa	0:56

Example 2: George Buck, Raymond Spragge, Jacob E. Thomas

Song 1: Introduction A	1:07
Song 2: Wi ney	0:45
Song 3: Wi ney 2	0:49
Song 4: Waa gey haa ney-ee B	0:47
Song 5: Hey noo wee nii yoo	0:38
Song 6: Hey naa wii yoo	0:45
Song 7: Goo yaa hey yaa hey	0:49
Song 8: Goo yaa hey yaa hey	1:00

Example 3: Kyle Dowdy and Bill Crouse

Song 1: Introduction B	0:52
Song 2: Gwii aa hoo jii nee	0:50
Song 3: Wi ney	0:43
Song 4: Wi ney 2	0:45
Song 5: Noowee noowee	0:41
Song 6: Hey naa wii yoo	0:47
Song 7: Hey waadjii nee	0:38
Song 8: Yee noo goo	0:50
Song 9: Hey noo wee nii yoo	0:45
Song 10: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo	0:41
Song 11: Goo yaa hey yaa hey	0:51

Example 4: Sheldon Sundown & Others

Song 1: Introduction B	1:12
Song 2: Naa wii oo	0:30
Song 3: Gwii aa hoo jii nee	0:45
Song 4: Wi ney 2	0:45
Song 5: Geen yoo hoo	0:48
Song 6: Wi ney	0:47
Song 7: Gyaa waa nii hoo	0:53
Song 8: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo	0:41
Song 9: Hey waadjii nee	0:56
Song 10: Yoo haa wii nee wii hey hee	0:37

Example one contains twenty-three different Delaware Skin Dance songs (because several of them are repeated, songs listed total thirty-one); example two contains eight different songs; example three contains eleven songs; and example four contains ten songs. In my conversations with Haudenosaunee singers, the majority recalled knowing more than fifteen songs, but even highly experienced singers may not know them all. A total of thirty-two songs are represented in these four examples. I have analyzed a number of recordings in addition to the four examples detailed here and have found only a handful of Delaware Skin Dance songs not represented in these examples. Thus, the reader should know that while most of the Delaware Skin Dance songs alive today are among these thirty-two songs, there are certainly songs not represented.

The Delaware Skin Dance is not unusual in its extensive repertory; for example, Kurath notes between twelve and eighteen Women's Shuffle Dance songs and over one-hundred-and-twenty songs of the Great Feather Dance variety (Kurath 1964, 5, 16).

Table 3.1: Occurrence of songs in Delaware Skin Dance song repertoire

Songs	Example 1 23 songs	Example 2 8 songs	Example 3 11 songs	Example 4 10 songs
Geen yoo hoo	1: 22	-	-	1: 5
Goo yaa hey yaa hey	-	2: 7, 8	1: 11	-
Gwii aa hoo jii nee	1: 2	-	1: 2	1: 3
Gyaa waa nii hoo	-	-	-	1: 7
Hey naa wii yoo	1: 15, 16, 19, 26	1: 6	1: 6	-
Hey naa wii yoo B	1: 25	-	-	-
Hey noo wee nii (y)oo	1: 18	1: 5	1: 9	-
Hey waa hii ya	1: 13	-	-	-
Hey waa hii ya 2	1: 14	-	-	-
Hey waadjii nee	-	-	1: 7	1: 9
Introduction A	1: 1	1: 1	-	-
Introduction B	-	-	1: 1	1: 1
Naa wii oo	-	-	-	1: 2
Noowee noowee	-	-	1: 5	-
Waa gey haa ney-ee A	1: 3	1: 4	-	-
Waa gey haa ney-ee B	1: 4	-	-	-
Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee	2: 7, 21	-	-	-
Wi ney	1: 6	1: 2	1: 3	1: 6
Wi ney 2	1: 10	1: 3	1: 4	1: 4
Wi ney 3	2: 9, 23	-	-	-
Wii goo yaa nii aa	2: 11, 31	-	-	-
Wii goo yaniioo Hangweedooney	1: 30	-	-	-
Wii goo yaniioo hee naa	1: 29	-	-	-
Yaa wee ha yoo gii hee	1: 8	-	-	-
Yee	1: 12	-	-	-
Yee noo goo	-	-	1: 8	-
Yoo gii yoo gii yoo	1: 5	-	-	-
Yoo ha wee noo	1: 20	-	-	-
Yoo haa wii nee wii hey hee	-	-	-	1: 10
Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo	3: 17, 24, 27	-	1: 10	1: 8
Yoo wey nii yoo	-	1	-	-
Yoo wii yoo haa hey	1: 28	-	-	-

Table 3.1 lists the Delaware Skin Dance songs in alphabetical order and indicates which songs are heard on which recordings. The most widely known songs, *Wi ney* and *Wi ney 2*, are found in all four examples; twenty songs are represented on only one recording; ten are heard on two or three of the recordings. The first number in each section of the chart indicates the number of times the song is sung on a particular recording. Number(s) after the colon indicate when the song is sung in the singer's lineup (it is important to note the number of songs on the recording when considering this number). A dash means the song is not on that recording.

It is important to consider where singers are from when exploring repertoire diversity. Art Johnson and Lyle Anderson, on Example 1, are from the Six Nations of the Grand River, Ontario Canada, Sour Springs Longhouse. George Buck, Raymond Spragge, and Jacob E. Thomas, on Example 2, are also from Six Nations. Kyle Dowdy and Bill Crouse are both Seneca. Crouse is a Faith keeper of the Coldspring Longhouse on the Allegany Indian Reservation in New York State. Sheldon Sundown is Seneca from the Tonawanda Indian Reservation in New York State. As might be expected, I found similarities between Examples 1 and 2, the Six Nations examples. I also noticed stylistic similarities between Kyle Dowdy and Bill Crouse's singing in comparison with Sheldon Sundown's. For example, both briefly stop drumming at particular phrase endings in the introduction and both use "Introduction B." Resemblances, however, are more mutual than they are exclusive; in some way all four examples share likenesses with each of the other recordings.

Expert singers are able to differentiate differences in repertoire and stylistic variance in how they sing the Delaware Skin Dance songs, compared with singers in other communities. For example, Seneca Norman Jimerson points out differences between Newtown and Six Nations songs. He says that when they sang Newtown versions of the Delaware Skin Dance

songs at Six Nations he remembers older Six Nations men saying, “those are the real ones” and calling Newtown songs the “original” ones (Jimerson 2010).

Future work in identifying song order may be an important project for Delaware communities who wish to revitalize the songs and sing them as they were originally performed. Whereas some singers sing whatever song comes to mind, many follow the same song order, particularly toward the beginning of their song-set. Certain songs, like those containing the vocables *wi ney*, are almost invariably sung sometime in the beginning. In the four examples, they are also sung consecutively in all but one case, where they are separated by one song. As the singer progresses through his repertoire, he uses faster songs. Slower songs that give the dancers a chance to recoup sometimes break these up. The slow song may be a repeat of a song sung earlier in the line-up. Occasionally, in addition to composing new Delaware Skin Dance songs, certain contemporary singers will interject Smoke Dance songs toward the end of the dance, which adds excitement.

Lyric Analysis

My research shows that Delaware Skin Dance lyrics have changed over time and vary from singer to singer. These changes occurred gradually and differences between singers’ interpretation of the lyrics are slight. One of the most common misconceptions I run into when discussing my research with the public and academics alike is the notion that Native American songs are made up as the singer goes along. In both Delaware and Haudenosaunee music heard today, singers consider the lyrics to be in a set, fixed form; improvised lyrics are never used.

I use the term “lyrics” to describe the words and/or vocables sung during songs. Some scholars also use the term “song text,” but this seems to imply that the song is comprised of words and that they are written down. I find that the word “lyrics” is better to describe the

composite of words and vocables present in the Delaware Skin Dance songs.

Across Native America, song lyrics can be classified as fitting into one of three categories: those using vocables only, those that contain both vocables and words, and those that are only words. Subdivisions of these categories could be created based on the language the words are in—powwow and social songs can contain words in English or a Native language and those who sing the songs may not necessarily come from the same tribe as the Native language—or whether the original form of the vocables was words or vocables. Ethnomusicologist Charlotte Heth writes, “Although most songs are performed, for the most part, in native languages, some include vocables (non-translatable syllables) used to carry the melody in the same way that ‘fa-la-la’ and other vocables do in European folk songs. These vocables are fixed and are indeed the words to the songs” (Heth 1992, 12). I like Adams’ explanation of vocables in his discussion of sacred and secular Unami Delaware music. “Most of these songs replace lexical texts with vocables,” he writes, “leaving a sort of absolute music which establishes its effect solely through musical—not textual—means” (Adams 1977, 179).

In some areas of the Americas, such as the Northeastern Woodlands, it could be argued that songs sung in the Native language tend to be the ones considered more sacred or ceremonial in nature. For example, when comparing the three categories of lyric substance—vocables only, vocables and words, and words only—in terms of Delaware music, social dance songs usually (but not exclusively) use vocables whereas ceremonial songs like the vision songs sung in the Big House have vocables and words or words only. While the Delaware Skin Dance is presently used as a social dance, given its former ceremonial association I asked as to whether or not it could have contained Delaware lyrics. Unfortunately, this question does not have a cut-and-dried answer. If the songs once contained Delaware words, the fact that they changed over time

and are now sung by English speakers, some of whom speak Iroquoian languages, might make the words unintelligible. Although some Delaware and Iroquois people could once speak each other's languages, Algonquian and Iroquoian languages are vastly different. In *Tutelo Rituals on Six Nations Reserve, Ontario*, Kurath notes this phenomenon in her observation of change in Tutelo vocables over time, stating, "The ritual language is Cayuga or Onondaga, with the Tutelo words surviving only in garbled song-texts...The songs show more signs of Iroquois influence and of change, inevitable change from generation to generation" (Kurath 1981, 99, 107). For non-Delaware speakers, Delaware words are no more specific in their meaning than vocables. As Voegelin discusses in "Word Distortions in Delaware Big House and Walam Olum Songs," which I cite in the previous chapter, another factor that might make distinguishing words from vocables in Delaware songs complicated is the fact that ceremonial song speech differs from regular speech. Oneida speaker and singer Lotunt Honyust points out that for the Iroquois too there is sometimes a difference between ceremonial language and conversational language (Honyust 2010). Additionally, vocables might be strung in between words, drawing phrase components out over long melodic phrases. Lastly, change can eventually transform lyrics from words into vocables.

To begin my lyric analysis of the Delaware Skin Dance songs, I transcribed the four examples using the double vowel system, which uses double vowel symbols (e.g. "oo" for the sound in the English word "post") for long vowels and single vowel symbols (e.g. "i" for the sound in the English word "pin") for short vowels. The double vowel system was a natural choice because it is the method used by most Munsee Delaware speakers, is used by the Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheeshkoolhaalaweesak Eehakehkiingewaniikaan (the Lunaape Speakers Teacher's Academy), and is the system that is used in the *Delaware-English/ English-Delaware*

Dictionary by John O'Meara, the most extensive resource of its kind on Munsee Delaware.

Pronunciation of long and short vowels is indicated in the Pronunciation Guide in Appendix C.

In the transcription of each song, I label the lead singer's calls at the beginning and end of songs with the term "Singer." The response to this call is labeled with the term "Respondent." Sometimes, as heard on Example 2 and Example 4, more than one person responds to the call and these men sometimes sing the rest of the song through with the Singer. Therefore, "Respondent" sometimes refers to more than one person, but "Singer" always refers to one select individual. Drum rolls (and sometimes breaks in the beat) separate the songs. In Examples 1, 2, and 3 a hard surface is used for drumming; a hand drum is used in Example 4.

I received assistance in examining the Delaware Skin Dance songs for Delaware words from my language instructor, Mr. Glen Jacobs, of the Delaware First Nation in Moraviantown, Ontario, who is co-founder of the Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheeshkoolhaalaweesak Eehakehkiingewaniikaan. We were excited to listen to Example 2, the 1969 Iroqrafts recording made at Six Nations, because the liner notes indicate outbursts during the songs are in the Delaware language. Unfortunately, we were unable to translate it. I do not know whether our difficulty comes from the fact that the recording is old and muffled, is in a certain "ceremonial speech" specific to the performance of the songs, or is in a different Delaware dialect or another Native language. According to Seneca singer Norman Jimerson, the words could be associated with the ceremony the Delaware Skin Dance songs were used in or could be exclamations of joy (Jimerson 2010). Because men on the recording were Delaware speakers, they would have had the freedom and ability to say whatever came to mind during the dance.



Illustration 3.1: Glen Jacobs and the author, March 2010

The primary significance in identifying language in the Delaware Skin Dance song lyrics is that it would lend insight into their original ceremonial function. I am not able to positively determine whether at one time the Delaware Skin Dance lyrics did or did not contain words. The songs certainly include sounds reminiscent of Delaware words, but from this we cannot conclude that is what they are. One example is the lyric *wi ney*, which runs throughout several Delaware Skin Dance songs and is reminiscent of the Munsee word *wiineew*, meaning snow. The *ey* sound in the lyrics is different from the nasal *ee* sound in *wiineew* (the final *w* is barely audible), but if one tries singing *wiineew* several times one realizes how easily *wiineew* could turn into *winey*. I explained to Oneida speaker and singer Lotunt Honyust of the Oneida Nation of the Thames in Ontario the likeness between the lyrics *wii ney* that he sings in the Delaware Skin Dance songs with our Munsee Delaware word *wiineew* and asked for his perspective as someone experienced in Longhouse traditions—which hold some parallels to the Big House—why snow might be mentioned in the lyrics.

According to our traditional hunting, you've got to wait until it frosts before you can send your hunters out. And so to me, that makes sense with what the song would be used for. Because now that time has come that we're seeing the snow, because we can track them . . . we can track them in the snow and then when that snow comes it kills the bacteria within the animals. So we've got to wait until it gets cold before we can send our hunters out there to start hunting. . . . We don't hunt in the summer. That's when we gather the berries and all the other different types of plants that we use to cook with. . . . So it's like you're saying, "now it's snowing out." And that's what you're telling the hunters, is "now it's the time for you to go out." (Honyust 2010)

Although there are several plausible reasons why the Delaware Skin Dance songs would refer to snow, especially if they were sung at a time when men were being seen off on the hunt, my line of thought that vocables are Munsee Delaware words might be challenged, based on the fact that there are Haudenosaunee songs, such as Standing Quiver Dance songs, that also contain similar lyrics.

While none of my Haudenosaunee collaborators were aware of any Delaware words in the Delaware Skin Dance songs, Lotunt Honyust knows several songs that contain Oneida words. These songs are sung in other Iroquois communities besides his home at the Oneida Nation of the Thames, but nowhere else have I heard them with the words that Lotunt sings. The fact that Delaware songs now include Oneida words leads to the following question: are the Oneida words a translation of Delaware lyrics or did Oneida singers insert their own words? Lotunt suggested one possible theory, comparing the Delaware Skin Dance to the Feather Dance. He says about half of the Feather Dance songs have words in them and the others do not. Songs with vocable lyrics are usually sung at the beginning of Feather Dance sets, serving as calling songs to get the people up and dancing. After the calling songs, when everyone is up dancing, Thanksgiving songs are sung. These songs progress in a certain order and some are specific to the occasion. Lotunt proposes that the Delaware Skin Dance could have been similar in that certain songs were just vocables and others expressed deeper meaning about the significance of

the ceremony (Honyust 2010).

Themes in the lyrics may be congruent with portions of the Delaware Big House ceremony, as they seem to address ideas that go along with the ritual hunt and giving thanks. The lyrics in several songs say *We kanat: yo*, which means ‘a good village.’ Another song mentions that something is happening right now, saying *Yo ta tsyo*. The lyrics could be referring to the song and dance that are taking place, the ceremony, or even that right now is the time for hunting (Honyust 2010). The lyrics *Waké ta:ké*, meaning ‘I am going,’ indicate that one is leaving for somewhere and then the word *Waknastè?* means ‘It is precious to me,’ almost to the point of being stingy of it (Honyust 2010). The word *Kahuwi:yo* (good canoe) and *Kanawiyo ha:wi* (to be carrying something) may also appear. According to Lotunt, *Yuwn hey*, heard in the call and response at the beginning of each Delaware Skin Dance song, is an acknowledgment of life universal to all Six Nations languages (Honyust 2010).¹⁴ It is a solemn reference that recognizes those things we give thanks for because they sustain us, like the plant life and the animal life.

“I can recommend no better way to master the phonetics of an exotic language than learning to sing with the natives,” says Fenton as he draws a connection between song lyrics and sounds represented in Native languages (Fenton 1942, 3). He does not specify whether he means singing songs with word or vocable lyrics, but it makes sense that one will not find a preponderance of sounds in lyrics that are not represented in speech, although it is imaginable that certain sounds could be omitted.

There are nine vowel sounds in Munsee Delaware—four long vowels: *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, *oo*; and five short vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. There are nineteen consonants: *b*, *ch*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *k*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, *sh*,

¹⁴ The spelling of “*Yuwn hey*” reflects the double vowel system used for Munsee Delaware, not the Oneida spelling.

t, w, x, y, z, zh (*g* represents a hard ‘g’ sound; *ch, sh,* and *zh* represent single sounds; *m* and *n* are nasal; *x* is a guttural sound, similar to German pronunciation of the end of the name ‘Bach’) (Jacobs, Glen and Bruce Stonefish 2005; O'Meara 1996, xviii-xix). Table 3.2 shows that of our four example recordings recorded between 1969 and 2006 by singers born in different Iroquois communities, sounds used in the songs are limited. Although there are differences in the lyrics singers use in specific parts of particular Delaware Skin Dance songs, there is very little discrepancy in the vowels and consonants used by different singers when the songs are analyzed as a whole.

All four long vowels—*ii, oo, aa, ee*—are used in each of the example recordings. Short vowels used vary by recording: Example 1 uses *i, o, a, e*; Example 2 uses *i, a, e, u*; Example 3 uses *i, a, e*; Example 4 uses *i, a, e*. The majority of vowel sounds in the songs sound like long vowels, but this may in part stem from the influence of note length and accents. Of the nineteen consonant sounds, *p, t, k, b, s, m, l, z, ch, sh, zh,* and the guttural *x* are not represented in any of the Delaware Skin Dance with the exception of a slight guttural *x* sound heard in Examples 1 and 2 and the appearance of an *l* in Example 4. Only seven consonants are regularly used in Delaware Skin Dance songs: *d, j, n, w, y, h,* and *g*. Table 3.2 shows that these limited numbers of consonants are only used in specific combinations with short and long vowel sounds.

Table 3.2: Occurrence of consonant and vowel sounds in Delaware Skin Dance songs

Consonants¹⁵	Example 1	Example 2	Example 3	Example 4
D	de, dii, doo	de	da, dii	da, dii
J	jii	jii	jii	jii
N	na, ne, nii, noo, naa, nee	na, ne, nu, nii, noo, naa, nee	na, ne, noo, naa, nee	na, ne, nii, naa, nee
W	wi, wa, we, wii, waa	wi, we, wii, waa	wi, we, wii, waa	wi, we, wii, waa, wee
Y	ye, yoo, yaa, yee	ye, yoo, yaa, yee	ye, yoo, yaa, yee	ya, yoo, yaa, yee
H	ha, he, hii, hoo, haa, hee	he, hii, hoo, haa, hee	ha, he, hii, hoo, haa	ha, he, hii, hoo, haa
G	gi, go, ga, ge, gii, goo, gee	ge, gii, goo	ga, ge, goo	ga, ge, gii, gaa, gee

As previously discussed, it is possible that the Delaware Skin Dance songs once included language that has transitioned into vocables over time; it is also possible that they have always been vocables that have undergone slight changes over the years. Although data shown on the chart in Table 3.2 seem to indicate the latter based on the fact that songs do not possess significant differentiation in song syllables, particular lyrics stand out in the songs. I list a few examples of these particularly identifiable and memorable lyrics and the songs they are found in below.

Gwii yaa hoo jii neex “Introduction A,” “Gwii aa hoo jii nee”

Wi ney “Wi ney,” “Wi ney 2,” “Wi ney 3,” “Introduction B,”
 “Yoo haa wii nee wii hey hee”

Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee “Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee,”

¹⁵ This chart does not take into consideration instances where vowel sounds come before consonants.

<i>Wad jii ney</i>	“Hey waa hii ya,” “Hey waadjii nee”
<i>Heyngwa doo ney</i>	“Wii goo yaniioo Hangweedooney”
<i>Ganondiihoo</i>	“Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo”

Only one sound in the Delaware Skin Dance occurs infrequently in Munsee Delaware. It sounds like the word “eye” and makes appearances throughout the songs in the Singers’ initial shout—“hay”—in the first part of the antiphonal call. Call and response songs are common among the Delaware, Iroquois, and other Indigenous people. The call varies slightly from singer to singer and during performance, but is most commonly heard as “Hay Yoo,” “Hayoo,” “Hii yoo,” or simply “Yoo.” The call from the Singer or Leader prompts a response from the “helper,” which I term the Respondent, as well as the male and occasionally female dancers who answer responsively (Kurath 1964, 22; Honyust 2010).¹⁶ Common responses include “Hii yee hee,” “Hii yee,” and “Yee hee.” After the response, the singer begins singing the song. At the end of the song, he calls “Yoo,” to which the Respondent and dancers call back. The role of Leader and Helper—Singer and Respondent—alternate throughout the performance. Today when groups of men sit together they pass the Lead role counter-clockwise. Lotunt Honyust indicates, however, that the older manner of performing the Delaware Skin Dance involved two singers who took turns singing the lead part and sang song verses together. This is the same setup that was used by singers in the Delaware Big House ceremony. Lotunt explains why the original arrangement went out of use.

We don’t do social dances as much as we used to...the guys are not practicing their songs as much as they should be...I think there was a period of time where a lot of the Longhouses got poor like that, where there was just one singer. So then for a while that’s kind of what they thought was it...just one guy that sings. (Honyust 2010)

¹⁶ Sometimes at public events a Singer sings alone and must fulfill both roles, which can be difficult.

The call and response between the Singer and the responding Helper and dancers symbolizes their kinship, or interconnected relationship. Lotunt Honyust emphasizes that the interaction acknowledges what everyone is mutually singing and dancing for. “The guys that are singing are singing the songs for the Creator. And the people that are dancing, they’re dancing for the Creator. So it all makes the ceremony complete” (Honyust 2010). In “Inside the Longhouse: Dances of the Haudenosaunee,” Ron LaFrance depicts how young singers learn. “When the singers take to the bench, a different learning process occurs. The Head Singer and his helper or second drummer are announced as the lead singers. The helper is often a young man who is just starting out and may still be somewhat shy and modest” (LaFrance 1992, 23).

“My understanding always was that [the Delaware Skin Dance] is more than just a social dance song. It’s a special song. And so we’ve always tried not to change it from the way that it was given to us,” says Lotunt Honyust (Honyust 2010). My conversations with Haudenosaunee singers show a concerted effort to keep the songs from changing by teaching young singers to carry on the dances in the manner their elders do them. Delaware singing shares a common philosophy as evident in the following quote from Adams’ study of Unami Delaware music when he suggests that continuity of songs over long periods of time “suggests a conservative attitude toward transmission of the oral tradition.” He writes, “Bill Shawnee, a singer of both the Delaware and Shawnee traditions, confirmed the idea of faithfulness to the established repertoire: ‘I always sing just what I’ve heard. The people I learned from feel the same way. Repeat only what you learn’” (Adams 1977, 113-114).

Yet, change is inevitable and with change there is also evidence of life. Pronunciation of Delaware Skin Dance lyrics differs slightly from singer to singer and community to community. What follows are transcriptions of lyrics for all four examples examined in this dissertation.

Comparing the same songs on different recordings brings to light just how different vocables and pronunciation are between singers. Singer Wesley Halsey tells me that he has heard three or four variations of every Delaware Skin Dance song (Halsey 2010). Singer Norman Jimerson points out the differences he hears when listening to other singers.

If I sing a song and he sings a song, it's different... You know, you say tomayto, I say tomaato. That's what happens with the Senecas around the Iroquois language... I'll stand up there and hear guys singing, and I'll say "they're singing it wrong." Well, it's just the way I learned it. And where you come from. What area you come from, Ohii'yo'—Allegany, or Tonawanda, it's all different. The language varies too. And it's still Seneca. Even on Cattaraugus—Pinewoods, Newtown, Indian Hill—it's still Seneca, but different dialects, because they're different turfs. (Jimerson 2010)

Variety in pronunciation of the Delaware Skin Dance songs can be seen among the transcriptions.

Even though a great deal of Iroquois music does not include words, I argue that a primary source of recent lyric variance—like in the Delaware Skin Dance—is probably loss of traditional languages among Iroquois youth. Prior to the past half-century, there were Iroquois elders who could speak all Six Nations' languages and some of them also knew languages of foreign tribes like Ojibwe, Delaware, and Mohican (Honyust 2010). Knowing these languages would also help sharpen one's listening and learning with song lyrics, be they words or vocables. Singers tell me that older recordings represent Delaware Skin Dance lyrics more accurately not only in pronunciation but also in terms of song order and that older singers were more familiar with the history of the songs than some young singers are.

Algonquian and Iroquoian languages have nasal sounds. As previously mentioned, there are no *m* sounds in any of the Delaware Skin Dance songs, but there are *n* sounds and some singers present them with a more nasal quality than others. Norman Jimerson told me that younger generations, who sing the response *Yoo hey* at the beginning of Delaware Skin Dance

songs have changed the original pronunciation—*yuwk hey*—which he voiced with a nasal sound (Jimerson 2010). Certain sounds in Iroquoian and Algonquian languages can be difficult for English speakers to pronounce. In Delaware the nasal sounds and guttural *x* prove especially challenging. Singer Jordan Cooke stressed the fact that the ears of modern people have become trained at listening to other kinds of music like hip-hop, country, and rock; in the process of familiarizing ourselves with those melodies and harmonies, we have untrained our ears from accurately hearing traditional music (Cooke 2010). His philosophy underscores the importance of exposing American Indian children to their traditional music.

Iroquois singers reiterated that finding meaning behind the Delaware Skin Dance songs might best be approached by looking at sets of songs with analogous lyrics. Jordan Cooke has embarked on an exploration of song sets for different dances and identifies recurring lyrics that are heard over different melodies. “You don’t notice it when you first listen to all of it. They all sound completely different. But when you really break it down it’s the same lyric,” he says (Cooke 2010). In labeling the song names for the transcriptions that follow I frequently struggled with whether or not a song should be classified as a variation of a particular song or if it was truly a different song. It can be difficult to define the characteristics of what gives one song a separate identity from another. Some Delaware Skin Dance songs have almost identical lyrics, but different melodies. Others have the same melodies, but have divergences in the lyrics. Singers tend to associate similar songs with one another, even though they refer to them as separate songs and often perform them one after the other (the unfamiliar ear might think they repeated the song). A prime example is the song labeled “Wi ney 2,” which is sung the same way in another song except that the lyrics *wi ney* are replaced with *gwii ley*. Likewise, “Hey waa hii ya,” “Hey waa hii ya 2,” and “Hey waadjii nee” have the same melody but different lyrics.

One also hears similarities between Introductions A and B used to begin the Delaware Skin Dance. Therefore, my count of thirty-two songs represented on the four example recordings could be debated as an overly generous or conservative calculation depending on how one defines what qualifies as a distinctive song in the Delaware Skin Dance repertoire.

There are a number of overlapping lyric patterns that offer multiple possibilities for grouping songs. The following are just a few examples of songs with lyric and/or melodic relationships:

“Hey naa wii yoo” (in some examples sung *hey naa nii yoo*) and “Hey naa wii yoo B.”

“Hey waa hii ya” and “Hey waa hii ya 2”

“Introduction A” and “Introduction B”

“Waa gey haa ney-ee A” and “Waa gey haa ney-ee B”

“Wi ney,” “Wi ney 2,” and “Wi ney 3”

“Wii goo yaa nii aa,” “Wii goo yaniioo Hangweedooney,” and “Wii goo yaniioo hee naa”

Commonalities in Delaware Skin Dance lyrics can be observed in the following lyric transcriptions of the songs on Examples 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Lyric Transcriptions

EXAMPLE 1: Art Johnson and Lyle Anderson, *Iroquois Social Songs-Volume 2* (24:12)

Song 1: Introduction A (01:16)

Singer: Hay yoo

Respondent: *Hii ye hee*

Singer: Oo nuwn dey hey

Oo nan dey

Aahaa naan dey hey

Yoo haa nan dey hey

Yoo nuwn dey hey

Yoo nan dey

Aaha nan dey hey

Yoo aaha nan dey hey Yoo

Respondent: *Hii ye hey*

Singer: Hay yoo

Respondent: *Hii yee*

Singer: Hey goo yaa, hoo jii neex, hee, gwii yaa hoo jii neex, hee,

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee

[g in “Gwii” is almost silent throughout]

Hay we gii yaa

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee we gii yaa

Gwii yoo hoo jii nee, he

Gwii yoo hoo jii nee

Hay we gii yaa

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee we gii yaa

Gwii yoo hoo jii nee, he

Gwii yoo hoo jii nee

Hay we gii yaa

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee we gii yaa hey ey

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hiiyee*

Song 2: Gwii aa hoo jii nee (00:40)

Singer: Yoo!

Respondent: *Oii yee hee*

Singer: Oo yaahaa, Hoo jii nee-ee

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee-ee, gwii aa hoo jii nee

Hay we ge yaa

Gwii aa hoo jii nee we ga yaa

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Wii aa hoo jii nee

Hay we ge yaa

Gwii aa hoo jii nee we ga yaa

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Hay we ge yaa
Gwii aa hoo jii nee we ga yaa hee
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee!*

Song 3: Waa gey haa ney-ee A (01:07)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee*

Singer: Hay Yoo

H(a)waa gey haa ney-ee
Oo gey yaa wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey yee
Yoo waa gey haa ney-ee oo
Oo gey yaa wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey-ee
Waa gey haa ney ee ee oo oo gey
Yaa wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey-ee
Waa gey haa ney ee oo
Oo gey naa wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey-ee
Yoo waa gey haa ney-ee oo
Oo gey yaa wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey-ee
Waa gey haa ney ee oo
Oo gey yaa wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey-ee
Waa gey haa ney ee oo
Oo gey ya wey wey haa wey aa wey aa hey-ee
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Song 4: Waa gey haa ney-ee B (00:52)

Singer: Yoo!

Respondent: *Wii yee hee!* [very nasal]

Singer: Wii yoo waa gey haa gey hey
Doo yoo gey
Yaa wa ney wii go
Wii aa wii aa hee-ee oo-oo
Haa gey haa gey hey
Yooyoo gey
Yaa wa ney nii goo
Wii aa wii aa hey oo
Haa gey haa gey hey
Yooyoo gey
Yaa wa ney nii goo
Wii aa wii aa hey oo
Singer: Yoo!
Respondent: *Yooey!* [overlapping with singer]
Singer: Waa gey haa ney hey
Yoo-oo gey
Yaa wa ney nii goo

Wii aa wii aa hey oo
Waa gey haa gey hey
Yooyoo gey
Yaa wa ney nii goo
Wii aa wii aa hey oo
Yoo!

Respondent: *Wii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 5: Yoo gii yoo gii yoo (00:54)

Singer: Wii yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Aa hey naniioo hey naa

Wii aa wii aa hey

Aaa hey yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Wey aa yaa

Hey nan ii oo hey na

Wii aa wii aa hey aa hey

Yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Ey haa yaa hey

Wii aa wii hey

Aa hey yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Ey haa yaa hey

(W)ii aa wii hey

Aa hey yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Ey haa

Yaa hey nan ii oo hey na

Respondent: *Yoo!*

[overlapping]

Singer: Wii aa wii aa hey aa hey

Yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Ey haa yaa hey

(W)iaawii hey

Aa hey yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Ey haa yaa hey

Wiaawii hey

Aa hey yoo gii yoo gii yoo

Ey haa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Song 6: Wi ney (00:46)

Singer: (h)Yoo!

Respondent: *(H)ii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Ey aa-aa-yaa

Oo wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Ey aa-aa-yaa

Oo wi ney yoo

Respondent: *Li yee!*

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wii ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Ey aa-aa-yaa

Oo wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Ey aa-aa

Yoo!

Respondent: *(H)ii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 7: Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee (00:47)

Singer: Hyoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Aa way ga

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Yoo wii ney

Aaway ga

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Yoo wii naa

Wegi yoo yaa nii aa

Wey goo yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Hey goo

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Wegi yoo yaa nii aa

Wey goo yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Hey goo

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Wegi yoo yaa nii aa

Wey goo yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Hey goo

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa
Ee-ee
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Song 8: Yaa wee ha yoo gii hee (00:48)

Singer: Yoo(aa)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Hyew ey aa yoo gey hey

Yoo wey

Aa yoo gii hee

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hey

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee

Yoo wey aa yoo gii hey

[stop drum time]

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee

Yoo wey aa yoo gii hey

[stop drum time]

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hey

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hey

Respondent: *Iiyay [overlapping]!*

Singer: Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee-ee

Yoo wey aa yoo gii hey

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee-ee

Yoo wey aa yoo gii hey

[stop drum time]

Yaa wey aa yoo gii hee-ee

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 9: Wi ney 3 (00:37)

Singer: Hyoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Oo wii ney

Yaa hoo-oo

Wii-ee wii-ee-ee-ee

Wii-ee wii-ee ee eeyaa

Oo wii ney

Yaa hoo-oo

Wii-ee wii-ee-ee

Wii-ee wii-ee ee eeyaa

Oo wii ney

Yaa hoo-oo

Wii-ee wii-ee-ee

Wii-ee wii-ee ee ee Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee!*

Song 10: Wi ney 2 (00:49)

Singer: (h)Yoo(aa)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: (h)Yoo wen ey

Wen ey wi ney

Wi ney oo

Oo aa hey wi ney

Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney yoo

Oo aa hey wi ney

Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney yoo

Oo aa hey wi ney

Wi ney

Singer: Yoo!

Respondent: *Yay!*

[overlapping]

Singer: Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney wi ney yoo

Oo aa hey wi ney

Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney wi ney

Wi ney yoo

Oo aa hey wi ney

Wi ney

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 11: Wii goo yaa nii aa (00:48)

Singer: Hy yew

[very nasal]

Respondent: *Hii yee!*

Singer: Wii goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Wii goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii oo

Way goo yaa nii

Way goo yaa nii aa

Wii goo yaa nii oo

Way goo yaa nii

Way goo yaa nii aa

Wii goo yaa nii oo

Way goo yaa nii aa

Wii goo yaan

Wii goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Respondent: *Li yee!*

[overlapping]

Singer: Wii goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii

Way goo yaa nii oo

Way goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Wii goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii

Way goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Way goo yaa nii aa

Yoo!

[end pattern repeated identically four times]

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 12: Yee (00:46)

Singer: (h)Yoo(aa)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Wii ee ee

Wii ee

Yaa hoo wii ee

Wii ee (y)ee

Wii ee wii ee ee

Wii ee (h)ee wii (y)ee

Yaa hoo wii ee

Wii ee ee ee

Wii ee wii ee ee

Wii ee (h)ee wii (y)ee

Yaa hoo wii ee

Wii ee ee ee

Wii ee

Wii ee ee ee ee

Yoo!

[“ee” represents vocal pulsations]

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 13: Hey waa hii ya (00:50)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Hey nan ii oo

Oo way (ay) na

Hey waa ii yoo yoo

Hey waa hey (ey) na

Hey gaa hey

Hey waa ii yaa

Hey aa yaa hey

Wad jii ney
Oo way (ay) na
Hey waa ii yoo yoo
Hey waa hey (ey) na
Hey yaa hey hey waa ii yaa
Hey ee yaa hey
Wad jii ney
Oo way (ay) na
Hey waa ii yaa yoo
Hey a hey na
Hey yaa hey hey waa ii yaa
Hey ee yaa hey
Wad jii ney
Oo way (ay) na
Hey waa ii yaa yoo
Hey a hey na
Hey a hey
Hey waa ii yaa
Hey ee ee
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yooee!*

Song 14: Hey waa hii ya 2 (00:47)

Singer: Yooee!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Yaa jii wad an ey

Aa wii aa hya
Hey waa ii yaa
Hoo ii wan oo
Wan aa hey aa hey
Hey waa ii yaa
Hey iy yaa
Hii wad an ey
Oo way aa hey yaa
Hey waa ii yaa
Hoo hii wan oo
Naa hey aa hey
Hey waa ii yaa
Way ee yaa
Wan aa dey
Oo way aa hey yaa
Hey waa ii yaa
Hoo ii wan oo
Naa hey aa hey
Hey waa ii yaa
Way hee yaa

Hii wan aa dey
Oo wii aa yaa
Hey waa ii yaa hoo
Li wan oo
Wa naa hey aa hey
Hey waa ii yaa
Hey ee
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 15: Hey naa wii yoo (00:52)

Singer: Yoo!

Respondent: *(h)Yee!*

Singer: Hey naa nii yoo

Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee hee
Yoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee hee
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee hee

Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee hee
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yooee!*

Song 16: Hey naa wii yoo (00:50)

Singer: Yooee!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo

Wii ee (h)ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo oo

Wii ee (h)ee

Hey ee yaa

Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo

Wii ee (h)ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo oo

Wii ee (h)ee

Hey ee yaa

Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo

Wii ee (h)ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo oo

Wii ee (h)ee

Hey ee

Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo

Wii ee (h)ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo oo

Wii ee (h)ee

Hey ee

Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo

Wii ee (h)ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo oo

Wii ee (h)ee

Hey ee

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 17: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo (00:53)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Yoo hoo aa hey

Wii aa hey

Hoo ga na

Ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey oo

Ee

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wii aa hey

Hoo ga na(n)

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey oo

Ee Yoo hoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wii aa

Hoo ga na(n)

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey oo

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wii aa hey

Hoo ga na(n)

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey aa haa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yooee!*

Song 18: Hey noo wee nii yoo (00:57)

Singer: Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Hey noo wee nii oo

Haa yoo (oo oo)

Oo aa hey

Hey wee nii oo

Haa aa

Hey yoo wee nii oo haa

Yoo hoo hoo aa hey

Hey wee nii oo

Aa aa

Hey yoo wee nii oo haa

Yoo hoo hoo aa hey

Hey wee nii oo

Haa aa
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa
Yoo hoo aa hey
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa aa
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa
Yoo hoo hoo aa hey
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa aa
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa
Yoo hoo hoo aa hey
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa aa
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa
Yoo hoo aa hey
Hey yoo wee nii oo haa-aa
Yooaa!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 19: Hey naa wii yoo (01:00)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Hey naa nii yoo

Hey naa nii yoo

Wii ee hee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wii ee hee

Hey ee yaa

Hey naa nii yoo

Hey naa nii yoo

Wii ee hee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wii ee hee

Hey ee yaa

Hey naa nii yaa

Hey naa nii yoo

Wii ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wii ee hee

Hey ee yaa

Hey naa nii yaa

Hey naa nii yoo

Wii ee

Yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wii ee hee

Hey ee yaa

Hey naa nii yoo

Hey naa nii yoo

Wii ee

Yoo hoo
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee
Yoo hoo
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa nii yaa
Hey naa nii yoo
Wii ee hee
Yoo hoo
Yoo hoo wii ee hee
Yoo hoo hoo Yoo!
Respondent: *Yooee!*

Song 20: Yoo ha wee noo (00:49)

Singer: Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Hey yoo wee noo

Yoo wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey aa

Hey yoo wee noo

Yoo wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey aa hey

Yoo haa wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey aa hey

Yoo haa wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey aa

Hey yoo wee noo

Yoo wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey aa hey

Yoo haa wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey aa hey

Yoo haa wey noo

Yoo haa wey noo

Hey ee yee

Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 21: Way goo yaa nii aa dii nee (00:48)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee!*

Singer: Aa way ga

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Yoo wii ney

Aaway ga

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Yoo wii naa

Wegi yoo yaa nii aa

Wey goo yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Hey goo

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Wegi yoo yaa nii aa

Wey goo yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Hey goo

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Wegi yoo yaa nii aa

Wey goo yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Hey goo

Yaa nii aa dii nee

Ee yoo wii naa

Ee-ee

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Song 22: Geen yoo hoo (00:52)

Singer: Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Hyoo geen yoo goo

Geen yoo gey

Geen yoo

Oo

Yoo geen yoo

Goo geen yoo

Wey geen yoo

Oo

Yaa hey geen yoo goo

Geen yoo wey

Geen yoo

Oo
Yaa hey geen yoo goo
Geen yoo wey
Geen yoo

Oo
Yoo geen yoo
Goo geen yoo
Wey geen yoo

Oo
Yaa hey geen yoo goo
Geen yoo wey
Geen yoo

Oo
Yaa hey geen yoo goo
Geen yoo wey
Geen yoo

Hoo
Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 23: Wi ney 3 (00:41)

Singer: Hyoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Aa wii ee wii ee ee

Wii ee wii ee ee

Yaa hoo wii hey

Yaa hoo oo wii ee

Wii ee ee

Wii ee wii ee ee ee

Oo wii hey

Yaa hoo-oo

Wii-ee wii-ee-ee-ee

Wii-ee wii-ee ee eeyaa

Oo wii hey

Yaa hoo-oo

Wii-ee wii-ee-ee

Wii-ee wii-ee ee eeyaa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee!*

Song 24: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo (00:47)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Yoo hoo aa hey

Wii aa hey

Hoo ga na

Li aa
Yoo hoo hoo
Aa hey wey aa hey oo
(Ee) Yoo hoo hoo
Aa hey wii aa hey
Hoo ga na(n)
(J)ii aa
Yoo hoo hoo
Aa hey wey aa hey oo
(Ee) Yoo hoo hoo hoo
Aa hey wii aa hey
Hoo ga na(n)
(J)ii aa
Yoo hoo hoo
Aa hey wey aa hey
Yoo hoo
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 25: Hey naa wii yoo 2 (00:40)

Singer: Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Hey aa hey noo wee nii oo
Yaa hee noo wee nii oo haa
Yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Hey yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Noo haa yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Hey yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Yoo hoo hoo aa hey noo wee nii oo
Hey yaa hey noo wee nii aa aa
Yaa hey noo wee nii oo haa
Yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Hey ee yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Hey yaa hey noo wee nii oo haa
Yaa hey noo wee nii oo
Hey yaa hey noo wee nii aa haa
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yoo(ee)!*

Song 26: Hey naa wii yoo 3 (00:51)

Singer: Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Yoo hoo way noo yaa
Yoo hoo way noo yaa
Hey ee yoo hoo way noo yaa
Yoo hoo way noo yaa

Hey ee yaa hey naa wii yoo
Hey naa wii yoo wii oo yaa
Yoo hoo
Yoo hoo wii noo yaa
Hey ee yaa hey naa wii yoo
Hey naa wii yoo wii oo yaa
Yoo hoo
Yoo hoo wii noo yaa
Hey ee yoo wii noo yaa
Yoo hoo wii noo yaa
Hey ee yaa hey naa wii yoo
Hey naa wii yoo wii (n)oo yaa
Yoo
Yoo hoo wii noo yaa
Hey ee ee
Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 27: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo (00:58)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Yoo hoo aa hey

Wii aa hey

Hoo ga na

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey oo

Ee

Yoo hoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wii aa hey

Hoo ga na(n)

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey oo

Ee Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wii aa

Hoo ga na(n)

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey oo

Yoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wii aa hey

Hoo ga na(n)

(J)ii aa

Yoo hoo hoo hoo

Aa hey wey aa hey aa haa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yooee!*

Song 28: Yoo wii yoo haa hey (00:48)

Singer: Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Singer: Hyoo wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Yoo wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Yoo wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Wii yoo haa hey wii yoo

Wii ey ee

Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 29: Wii goo yaniioo hee naa (00:53)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Ee wii goo yan ii oo hey naa

Hey oo ya nii oo hey

Wii goo ya nii oo hey naa

Hey goo ya nii oo hey

Wey goo ha yoo

Wey goo ha ya nii oo hey

Wii goo ya nii oo hey naa

Hey goo ya nii oo hey

Wey goo ha yoo

Wey goo ha ya nii oo hey

Wii goo ya nii oo hey naa

Hey goo ya nii oo hey

Wey goo ha yoo

Wey goo ha ya nii oo hey

Wey goo ya nii oo hey naa

Hey goo ya nii oo hey

Wey goo ha yoo
Wey goo ha ya nii oo hey
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hyee!*

Song 30: Wii goo yaniioo Hangweeddooney (00:55)

Singer: Hii Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Wii goo na nii yoo

Wii goo na nii yoo

Heyngwa doo ney

Yoo oo aa hey

Hey wnoo na nii yoo

Wii goo na nii yoo

Heyngwa doo ney

Yoo oo aa hey

Hey wnoo na nii yoo

Wii goo na nii yoo

Heyngwa doo ney

Yoo oo aa hey

Hey wgoo na nii yoo

Wii goo na nii yoo

Wii goo na nii yoo

Heyngwa doo ney

Yoo oo aa hey

Hey wgoo na nii yoo

Wii goo na nii yoo

Heyngwa doo ney

Yoo oo aa hey

Hey wgoo na nii yoo

Yoo(ee)!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 31: Wii goo yaa nii aa (00:56)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee!*

Singer: Wii goo ya nii aa

Wey goo ya nii a

Wii goo ya nii aa

Wey goo ya nii a

Wey goo ya nii a

Wey goo ya nii a

Wii goo ya nii a

Wey goo ya nii a

Wey goo ya nii a

Wey goo ya nii

Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii
Wii goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii a
Wii goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii aa
Wey goo ya nii
Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii
Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii a
Wey goo ya nii
Wey goo ya nii a
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yay!*

Singer: Hii Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

EXAMPLE 2: George Buck, Raymond Spragge, Jacob E. Thomas, *Iroqrafts- Iroquois Social Dance Songs* (6:05)

Song 1: Introduction A (01:07)

Spoken: *San ii hwey*, Delaware Skin Dance

Singer: Hii yoo

Respondents: *Hii ye hey*

Singer: Oo nuwn dey hey

Oo nan dey hey

Yaa naan dey hey

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee*

Singer: Goo yaa hoo jii neex, hee

Wii yaa hoo jii nee

Wii yoo hoo jii nee

Hay we gii yaa

Wii yaa hoo jii nee

Wii yoo hoo jii nee, hee

Wii yoo hoo jii nee

Hay we gii yaa

Wii yaa hoo jii nee we gii yaa

Wii yoo hoo jii nee, he

Wii yoo hoo jii nee

Hay we gii yaa

Wii yaa hoo jii nee ee ee we gii yaa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hiiyee*

Song 2: Wi ney (00:45)

Singer: (h)Yoo!

Respondent: (H)ii yee

[very nasal]

Singer: Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Oo wi ney

Wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Oo wi ney

Wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Oo wi ney

Wi ney aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Exclamation: Hey, han jii wee hee!

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Oo wi ney

Wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Oo wi ney

Wi ney aa-aa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

[very nasal]

Song 3: Wi ney 2 (00:49)

Singer: (h)Yoo(aa)!

Respondent: *Hii yee!*

Singer: (h)Yoo wii ney

Wii ney wii ney

Wi ney ey oo oo

[vocal pulsations]

Aa hey wi ney

Wi ney

Hii yoo

[more than one singer enters]

Wii ney wii ney

Wi ney ey oo oo oo oo

Aa hey wi ney

Wi ney

Wii ney wii ney
Wi ney
Wi ney ey oo oo oo oo
Aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Yoo!

Exclamation: Haa yew ey, haa yew ee hey!

Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney ey oo oo
Aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney ey oo oo
Aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney ey oo oo
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee* [very nasal]

Song 4: Waa gey haa ney-ee B (00:47)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee*

Singer: Hay Yoo

H(a)waa gey haa ney-ee
Oo gey yaa we ney nii goo hey aa hey aa hey
Yoo waa gey haa ney-ee
Oo oo gey yaa we ney nii goo hey aa hey aa hey aa
Yoo!

Exclamation: Haa yew ey, haa yew ee hey!

Waa gey haa ney-ee
Oo oo gey yaa we ney nii goo hey aa hey aa hey aa
Haa gey hey haa gey hey
Oo oo gey yaa we ney nii goo hey aa hey aa hey ey aa aa
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee!*

Song 5: Hey noo wee nii yoo (00:38)

Singer: Wii Yoo!

Respondents: *Yee hee!*

Singer: Hey noo wee nii oo hoaw

Aa hey hey ya wee nii oo haa

(Singers) Hey noo wee nii oo

Haa yoo yoo

Aa hey hey noo wee nii yoo haa

Hey noo wee nii yoo

Haa yoo yoo
 Aa hey hey noo wee nii yoo haa
 Hey noo wee nii yoo
 Haa yoo yoo
Exclamation: *Ha ney, Hy yoo ey!*
 Aa hey hey noo wee nii yoo haa
 Hey noo wee nii yoo
 Haa yoo yoo
 Aa hey hey noo wee nii yoo haa aa
 Yoo!
Singers: Hey!

[overlapping]

Song 6: Hey naa wii yoo (00:45)

Singer: Hii Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Singer: Hey naa wii yoo
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Yoo hoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Hey yaa
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Yoo hoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Hey ee yaa
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Yoo hoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Hey ee yaa
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Hey naa wii yoo
Exclamation: Hii yee, haa yew ee!
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Yoo hoo
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Hey ee
 Hey naa wii yoo
 Hey naa wii yoo
Exclamation: Wii!
 Wii ee (h)ee
 Yoo hoo

Wii ee (h)ee
Hey ee yaa
Yoo!

Respondent: *Hiiyee!*

[very nasal]

Song 7: Goo yaa hey yaa hey (00:49)

Singer: Hii Yoo!

Respondents: *Hii yee!*

Singer: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Different Singer: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Singers: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Exclamation: *Haa yew ey, Haa yew ey!* *[overlapping]*

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Singer: Yoo!

Respondents: *Hiiyee!*

Song 8: Goo yaa hey yaa hey (01:00)

Singer: Hii Yoo!

Respondents: *Hii yee!*

Singer: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Different Singer: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Singers: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Exclamation: *Haa yew ey, Haa yew ey!* [overlapping]

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey
Goo yaa hey yaa hey yaa

Singer: Yoo!

Respondents: Yee!

Singer: Yoo!

Respondents: Yee!

Exclamation: *Zha ii gaa ley, a ii gaa ley*
Zhe hey!

EXAMPLE 3: Kyle Dowdy and Bill Crouse, *Allegany Singers: Earth Songs, Volume II* (7:21)

Song 1: Introduction B (00:52)

Singer: [ii] Hii Yooee!

Hey yoo wen ey
Hii yaa wen ey [m] [stop drum time]

Hey yoo wen ey
Hii yaa wen ey [stop drum time]

Hey yaa wen ey
Hey yaa wen ey [brief stops in drum time at end of lines]

Hey yaa wen ey [m]

Hey yaa wen ey

Hey yoo

Hey yaa wen ey

Hey yaa wen ey

Hey yaa wen ey

Yooee!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 2: Gwii aa hoo jii nee (00:50)

Singer: Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Hey yoo ge naa

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Hey yoo ge naa

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Wii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Wii yaa hoo jii nee

Hey yoo ge naa

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee

Hey yoo ge naa

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii yaa hoo jii ney eey

Gwii yaa hoo jii nee

Hey yoo ge naa

(h)Yoo!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 3: Wi ney (00:43)

Singer: Hey yaa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney aa

Oo wi ney

Aa oo wi ney

Wi ney ey aa

Oo wi ney

Aa oo wi ney

Wi ney ey aa

Oo wi ney

Aa oo wi ney

Wi ney ey aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney ey aa

Oo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney ey aa

Oo wi ney

Aa oo wi ney

Wi ney ey aa

Oo wi ney

Aa oo wi ney
Wi ney aa
Yoo!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 4: Wi ney 2 (00:45)

Singer: Hii yoo
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo yoo aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Hey yoo
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo oo aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo oo aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Wey aa

Yoo

Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney aa
Yoo oo aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo oo aa hey wi ney
Wi ney
Wey aa Yooee

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 5: Noowee noowee (00:41)

Singer: Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee (n)ii
Noo wee noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii

Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ii
Yaa hey noo ee noo ee
Noo wee ey
Yooee!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Singer: hYewee!

Song 6: Hey naa wii yoo (00:47)

Singer: Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo
Wii ee (h)ee
Yoo hoo oo
Wii ee (h)ee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa wii yoo
Hey naa wii yoo
Wii ee (h)ee
Yoo hoo oo
Wii ee (h)ee
Hey ee yaa
Hey naa wii yoo
Hey naa wii yoo
Wii ee (h)ee
Yoo hoo oo
Wii ee (h)ee
Hey ee

Hey naa wii yoo

Hey naa wii yoo
Wii ee (h)ee
Yoo hoo oo
Wii ee (h)ee
Hey ee
Hey naa wii yoo
Hey naa wii yoo
Wii ee (h)ee
Yoo hoo oo
Wii ee (h)ee
Hey ee
Yoo!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 7: Hey waadjii nee (00:38)

Singer: hYewee!

Aa hey waad jii ney

Gey ew haa da

Hey waa hey yaa

Hoo gey wa haad aa dey waa hey ya

Aa hey waad jii ney

Dey waa da

Hey waa hey yaa

Oo gey wa haad da

Hey waa hey yaa

Aa hey waad jii ney

Dey waa da

Hey waa hey yaa

Oo gey wa haad da

Hey waa hey yaa

Aa hey waad jii ney

Dey waa da

Hey waa hey yaa

Oo gey wa haad da

Hey waa hey yaa

Yooaa!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 8: Yee noo goo (00:50)

Singer: Wey yoo yee noo goo

Yee noo hey

Yee noo goo

Oo yee noo

Oo yee noo hey

Yee noo hoo

Yaa hey yee noo goo

[stop drum time]

Yee noo hey

Yee noo goo

Yaa hey yee noo goo

Yee noo hey

Yee noo goo

Hyoo!

Yee noo goo

Yee noo hey

Yee noo goo

Yaa hey yee noo goo

Yee noo hey

Yee noo goo

Yaa hey yee noo goo

Yee noo hey

Yee noo goo

Yooee(m)!

Respondent: [distant sound of dancers responding]

Singer: Hyooee(m)

Respondent: [distant sound of dancers responding]

Song 9: Hey noo wee nii yoo (00:45)

Singer: Hey noo wee nii oo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hey na wee nii oo haa

Hey noo wee nii yoo ha

(G)oo hoo

Aa hey hey na wee nii oo haa

Hey noo wee nii yoo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hey na wee nii oo haa

Hey noo wee nii oo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hey na wee nii oo haa

Hey noo wee nii oo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hey na wee nii oo haa

Hey noo wee nii oo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hey na wee nii oo haa hey aa

Yooee!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 10: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondihoo (00:41)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Singer: Oo hoo aa hey

Wii aa hey

Hoo ga na

Dii aa

[strong drum beats]

Oo hoo

Aa hey noo we nii oo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hee hey oo ga nan dii ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey noo we nii oo ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hee hey oo ga nan dii ha

Oo hoo

Aa hey hey noo we nii oo ha hey yaa

Yooee[m]!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Song 11: Goo yaa hey yaa hey (00:51)

Singer: Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey ya hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey ya hey

Goo yaa hey ya hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hey yaa hey

Goo yaa hyee ee

Yooeee!

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

Singer: Hyooee

[very nasal]

Respondent: [dancers barely audible]

EXAMPLE 4: Sheldon Sundown & Others, *Smoke Dance Old Style*, (6:57)

Song 1: Introduction B (01:12)

Singer: Hay Yoo!

Respondent: *Yaa hee hey!*

Singer: Wii yoo wen ey

Wii hoo wen ey

Wii hoo wen ey

Wii hoo wen ey

Wii hoo wen ey

Wii aa wen ey

Hay yoo hoo oo

Wii aa wen ey

Wii hoo wen ey

Wii aa wen ey

Hii yoo!

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Singer: Oo nen gey hey

Oo nen gey hey

[stop drum time]

Oo nen gey hey

Oo nen gey hey

Oo nen gey hey

Oo nen gey

Hay yoo

Oo nen gey

Oo nen gey hey

Oo nen gey

Hay yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Song 2: Naa wii oo (00:30)

Singer: Hey yaa hoo naa wii yoo

Naa wii yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wey ee hee

Wey ee hee

Yaa hoo naa wii yoo

Naa wii yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wey ee hee

Wey ee hee

Yaa hoo naa wii yoo

Naa wii yoo hoo

Yoo hoo wey ee hee

Wey ee hee

Yoo!

Respondent: *Hii yee hee!*

Song 3: Gwii aa hoo jii nee (00:45)

Singer: Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Wey hey ya ge naa

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Wey hey ya ge naa

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee

Wey hey ya ge naa

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

[drum half time]

Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee

Gwii aa hoo jii nee
Wey hey ya ge naa
Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee
Gwii aa hoo jii nee ee
Gwii aa hoo jii nee
Wey hey ya ge naa
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Song 4: Wi ney 2 (00:45)

Singer: Yoo wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo aa hey wi ney wi ney

Hay yoo

Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo aa hey wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo aa hey wi ney wi ney

Hay yoo

Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo aa hey wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Wi ney wi ney
Yoo aa hey wi ney wi ney aa hey aa
Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Song 5: Geen yoo hoo (00:48)

Singer: Hay yoo

Geen yoo hoo
Geen yoo hey
Geen yoo hoo
Hay yoo
Geen yoo hoo
Geen yoo hey
Geen yoo hoo
Aa hey geen yoo hoo
Geen yoo hey
Geen yoo hoo
Aa hey geen yoo hoo
Geen yoo hey

[stop drum time]

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo hoo

Hay yoo

Geen yoo hoo

Geen yoo hey

Geen yoo hoo

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo hey

Geen yoo hoo

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo hey

Geen yoo hoo

Aa hey geen yoo hoo

[stop drum time]

Geen yoo hey

Geen yoo hoo aa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yoo hooee!*

Song 6: Wi ney (00:47)

Singer: Hoo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney hey aa

Hoo wi ney yoo

Wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney ha ey

Oo wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney ha ey

Oo wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney ha ey

Oo wi ney wi ney aa hey aa

[beats alone]

Oo wi ney hay yoo

Wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney hay yoo

Wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney hay ii

Oo wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney hay ii

Oo wi ney wi ney hey aa

Oo wi ney hay ii

Oo wi ney wi ney aa hey aa

Yoo!

Respondent: *Yoo hooee!*

Song 7: Gyaa waa nii hoo (00:53)

Singer: Yaa hey gaa yeew waa nii hoo

Yoo wee nii hoo hey yee

Aa hey gaa yeew waa nii hoo

Yoo wee nii hoo hey yee

Aa hey yaa na ley
Yoo gey ha na
Yoo wey ha yoo gii hey
Aa hey gaa yeew waa nii hoo
Yoo wee nii hoo hey yee
Aa hey yaa na ley
Yoo gey ha na
Yoo wey ha yoo gii hey
Yaa hoo gaa yeew waa nii hoo
Yoo wee nii hoo hey yee
Aa hey yaa na ley
Yoo gey ha na
Yoo wey ha yoo gii hey
Yaa hey gaa yeew waa nii hoo
Yoo wee nii hoo hey yee
Aa hey yaa na ley
Yoo gey ha na
Yoo wey ha yoo gii hey yaa hey yaa
Yoo!

[stop drum time]

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Song 8: Yoo hoo aa hey wey aa hey hoo ganondiihoo (00:41)

Singer: Yoo hoo aa hey
Wii aa hey
Hoo ga na
Dii aa
Yoo hoo
Aa hey wey aa hey oo
Yoo hoo
Aa hey wii aa hey
Hoo ga nan
Dii oo
Yoo hoo
Aa hey wey aa hey oo
Yoo hoo
Aa hey wii aa hey
Hoo ga nan
Dii oo
Yoo hoo aa hey
Wii aa hey
Oo hii yee
Yoo!

[drumming]

[drumming]

[drumming]

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Song 9: Hey waadjii nee (00:56)

Singer: Yaa hey waad jii nee

Hoo wii haa jii nee
 Hey waa hii yaa hoo
 Hoo ga nan da hey
 Hoo wyii hii yaa [drum beats]
 Yaa hey waad jii nee
 Hoo wii haa jii nee
 Hey waa hii yaa hoo
 Hoo ga nan da hey
 Hoo wyii hii yaa [drum beats]
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Ya wey hoo wey aa haa [drum beats]
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Ya wey hoo wey aa haa [drum beats]
 Yaa hey waad jii nee
 Hoo wii haa jii nee
 Hey waa hii yaa hoo
 Hoo ga nan da hey
 Hoo wyii hii yaa [drum beats]
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Wey hoo wey aa haa [drum beats]
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Yoo hoo wey aa haa
 Wey hoo wey aa haa hey yee
 Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Song 10: Yoo haa wii nee wii hey hee (00:37)

Singer: Hay Yoo
 Wen ey hey hee hee
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee [drum beats]
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee [drum beats]
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee [drum beats]
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee
 Yoo wen eyii hii yee
 Yoo!

Respondent: *Yee hee!*

Musical Analysis

Delaware Skin Dance songs are an integral part of the Iroquois canon of music and dance. Comparative analysis reveals that in addition to similarities in their lyrics, the songs possess likenesses in musical structure, including song form, length, meter, and melody. Perhaps these likenesses contributed to the ease with which the Haudenosaunee incorporated the songs into their repertoire. “[The Iroquois’] tendency to systematize the elements of their culture into great institutional showpieces is what has given their culture stability over the years” (Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, Fenton and Gulick 1961, 260). Perhaps the regularity of Delaware Skin Dance songs also helped them maintain continuity in this repertoire.

Like the majority of Native American music, the Delaware Skin Dance songs are monophonic. Both the Unami songs Adams studied and the Delaware Skin Dance songs correspond with Nettl’s portrayal of Eastern Woodlands style, which involves “parallels in the prevalence of undulating-descending contour, moderately tense vocal technique, use of song series, use of calls or yells to mark the ends of songs, and a rhythmic accompaniment which simply reinforces the basic pulse of the song,” apart from the fact that Delaware Skin Dance song melodies do not have a tendency to fall in pitch (Adams 1977, 179; Nettl 1954, 33-36). This is a notable difference given the fact that most Unami Delaware songs, traditional songs from other tribes, and even powwow songs do. Delaware Skin Dance songs have basic elements like short song length and an occasional vocable in common with Unami Delaware music. For example, the Bean Dance sung by Bill Shawnee on *Songs of the Lenape: Tape 2*, begins with “Yoo **hoo jii nee**” and the Delaware Skin Dance song “Gwii aa **hoo jii nee**” contains the same “hoo jii nee” lyrics. Adams discusses the Bean Dance in his book *Songs of Our Grandfathers: Music of the Unami Delaware Indians*, explaining that it was part of the early 20th century

Delaware Stomp Dance repertoire, which was considered secular music (Adams 1977, 110, 157).

The Bean Dance itself has no more in common with the Delaware Skin Dance than do other

Delaware and Iroquois dances.

The men begin the dance, moving in a “shuffling step” around the dance ground. There is no drum accompaniment, but the lead dancer carries a rattle. This man is also responsible for the singing, though the men lined up behind him may help. Eventually the women enter and dance in any free space between two men.
(Adams 1977, 111)

I did not find that the Delaware Skin Dance has more in common with Unami Delaware music than with Iroquois music. This might result from two factors: first, as discussed in Chapter 2, given the history of Delaware people who came to live among the Iroquois it is likely that the songs are of Munsee Delaware derivation; second, over time the Iroquois have probably adapted the songs to fit into their own repertoire.

A distinction that comes to light in comparison of different Iroquois singers is their use of vocal ornamentation. Singers limit their embellishment of lyric phrases to techniques such as rhythmic vocal pulsation and added emphasis to accented syllables. Vocal inflection and accents delivered by the singer(s) serve an important rhythmic function in the songs. The difference between singers is difficult to define because the modifications they make to songs are so minor they can hardly be called alteration. These slight changes—perhaps described more appropriately as a singer’s delivery of the songs and ability to direct energy into them—have a grand effect that makes their interpretation of the song stand apart from others. In his study of Seneca culture, Fenton writes, “The culture passes the same songs and prayers along from generation to generation, but the individual professor is noted not because he knows this or that song, but because of how well he executes it” (Fenton and Kurath 1991, 39). Kurath states, “The dances themselves, as observed at five different longhouses, are essentially similar and vary

chiefly in improvisational details” (Kurath 1964, 2). When we broaden our scope from individual singers to include Haudenosaunee singers as a whole, I believe singing style and aesthetics displayed in the Delaware Skin Dance songs points to Iroquois stylization created by generations of singers embellishing the songs. Stylization has created an Iroquoian synthesis of the Delaware Skin Dance songs.

In performance, the Delaware Skin Dance can last upwards of twenty minutes. The longest recording from the examples examined here is Example 1, measuring 24 minutes and 12 seconds. The other three examples range between 6 and 7 ½ minutes. Songs themselves are short. All four examples begin with either “Introduction A” or “Introduction B,” which is longer than the other songs, lasting about one minute. Excluding Introductions, the average song is generally between 30 and 60 seconds in length. Table 3.3 records the range of song length, longest song, and shortest song for all four examples.

Table 3.3: Delaware Skin Dance song length

	Example 1	Example 2	Example 3	Example 4
Song Length Range	0:37-1:07	0:38-1:00	0:38-0:51	0:30-0:56
Longest Song	Waa gey haa ney-ee A	Goo yaa hey yaa hey	Goo yaa hey yaa hey	Hey waadjii nee
Shortest Song	Wi ney 3	Yoo wey nii yoo	Hey waadjii nee	Naa wii oo

The table shows that “Goo yaa hey yaa hey” is the longest song on both recording Examples 2 and 3. “Hey waadjii nee” is the shortest song on Example 3 and the longest song on Example 4. Although they use the same melody and I label them as the same song, there are considerable dissimilarities in their lyrics. The difference in song length is due to the fact that Example 4 contains a second section to the song with melody and lyrics not heard in Example 3. Lyrics for this section are as follows and can also be found in the transcription:

Yoo hoo wey aa haa
Yoo hoo wey aa haa
Ya wey hoo wey aa haa
Yoo hoo wey aa haa
Yoo hoo wey aa haa
Ya wey hoo wey aa haa
(Sundown 2006)

Some songs are no doubt shorter in duration than others because they are sung at faster tempos. Singers begin with slower songs. They increase the tempo with additional songs, but intermittently sing slow songs. In her study of Iroquois dances, Kurath referred to alternation between fast and slow metrical groupings as “symmetrical timing, by progression from slow to fast to slow units” (Kurath 1964, 34, 39). Singer Lotunt Honyust explains the process: “[Singers] always start out with a set of the slower songs. And then they’ll sing one fast one, then a slow one, then a fast one again, and then a slow one, just to break them up. And then towards the end there, maybe a couple of fast ones back to back” (Honyust 2010).

Elder singers and dancers told me that since they were children the tempo of the Delaware Skin Dance has sped up. This is probably in part due to the influence of Smoke Dancing and young competitors’ desires to exhibit fast, flashy dancing. The Delaware Skin Dance is not the only dance performed by the Iroquois that has undergone this dramatic shift in tempo. In the 1940s Fenton noted a similar phenomenon with the Feather Dance, writing, “Old men say that they used to sing Feather Dance more slowly, and with greater dignity, so that the old people could join in, but nowadays the young dancers want the tempo fast” (Fenton 1942, 12).

The Delaware Skin Dance uses a duple meter like Unami Delaware music. “The rhythm of Delaware music is almost entirely (95%) duple in its subdivision of the pulse,” wrote Adams (Adams 1977, 176). There is, however, plenty of rhythmic variety in the songs, with

syncopation often occurring between the melody and the drumming, which subdivides each beat. Kurath writes, “In Fish type and Delaware Dance the basic unit of even duple beats shows ingenious means of variation...In Delaware Dance double timing converts a quarter note into faster figures” (1964:39).

Singers beat their drumsticks quickly in between songs, creating a percussive tremolo that gradually accelerates as the beginning of the song is approached. The dancers saunter counterclockwise during the drum roll, which begins after a song and continues as the singer begins the next song during which time the melody is in free relation to the rapidly accelerating beat. When the regular drumbeat begins, after the Respondent has called back to the Singer, the dancers begin dancing again. As seen in transcription of the lyrics, there is a great deal of repetition in the songs. Dancers can identify the end of a song by listening for the strong, spaced drumbeats.

On average, Delaware Skin Dance song melodies are sung with one note to each syllable. Kurath found that vocal range for Delaware Skin Dance songs commonly fell within the limits of an octave (Kurath 1964, 34, 39). The Singer determines the starting pitch of the song. Vocal range in Example 1 remains comfortably within the singers’ male vocal ranges, between E 3 and F 4.

Figure 3.1: Selective transcription of Delaware Skin Dance songs

Delaware Skin Dance

Transcribed by Susan Taffe

Performance by Art Johnson & Lyle Anderson

Song 1: Introduction ♩ = 233

Percussion $\frac{4}{4}$ 0:00 *gradually faster*

Voice $\frac{4}{4}$

Hyii_ yoo_ Hii ye hey_

6

P. $\frac{4}{4}$

V. $\frac{4}{4}$

Oo_ nuwn_ dey hey_ Oo_ nan_ dey

11

P. $\frac{4}{4}$

V. $\frac{4}{4}$ 15.7s

— aahaa(n)_ aan dey hey_ Yoo_

16

P. $\frac{4}{4}$

V. $\frac{4}{4}$

— Haa_ nan dey hey Yoo_ nuwn dey

22

P. $\frac{4}{4}$

V. $\frac{4}{4}$ 24.8

— Yoo_ nan_ dey_ aaha_

27

P. 

V.  32s

— (n)an dey hey Yoo_____ aaha_____

32

P. 

V. 

— nan dey hey_____ Yoo_____ Hii ye _____ hey_____

37

P. 

V.  *port.*

Hyii yoo Hii yee_____

42

P. 

V.  43.8s

— Hey goo yaa Hoo_____ jii neex_____ hee ow yoo hoo jii nee hee

47

P. 

V.  47.3s *ritardando*

wii yoo hoo jii nee Hyii we gii yaa woo yaa hoo jii nee_ we gii yaa wii yoo

52

P. 

V.  54.7s

— hoo jii nee he wii yoo_ hoo jii nee Hyii we gii yaa woo yaa hoo jii nee_

57

P. 

V. 

we gii yaa wii yoo— hoo jii nee he wii yoo— hoo— jii nee Hyii

61

P. 

V. 

we gii yaa woo yaa hoo jii nee— we gii yaa hey ey Yoo! Hiiyee

66

P. 

V. 

Yoo!— Oii yee hee— Oo yaahaa

71

P. 

V. 

Hoo jii nee - ee— uw yaa hoo— jii nee - ee gwii aa hoo— jii nee

76

P. 

V. 

hyii we ge yaa gwii aa hoo— jii nee— we ga yaa gwii yaa hoo— jii ney eey—

81

P. 

V. 

wii aa hoo— jii nee hyii we ge yaa gwii aa hoo— jii nee— we ga

85

P. 

V. 

yaa gwii yaa hoo— jii ney eey— wii aa hoo— jii nee hyii we ge yaa gwii aa hoo

90

P. 

V. 

— jii nee— we ga yaa hee Yoo!— Yee! — Hyii Yoo!—

95

P. 

V. 

— Hii yee hee — Hyii Yoo—

100

P. 

V. 

H(a) waa— gey— haa ney - ee Oo— gey— yaa wey

105

P. 

V. 

— wey haa wey aa wey aa hey yee Yoo— waa-gey haa ney - ee


110

P. 

V. 

oo Oo gey yaa wey— wey haa wey aa wey aa hey - ee waa-gey haa ney—

115

P. 

V. 

ee ee oo oo gey yaa wey_ wey haa wey aa wey aa hey - ee

120

P. 

V. 

2m 22.5s

waa gey haa ney_ ee oo Oo gey naa wey_ wey haa wey aa wey aa hey -

125

P. 

V. 

ee Yoo waa gey haa ney - ee oo Oo gey yaa wey_

130

P. 

V. 

wey haa wey aa wey aa hey - ee waa gey haa ney_ ee oo Oo gey

135

P. 

V. 

2m 39.7s

yaa wey_ wey haa wey aa wey aa hey - ee waa gey haa ney_ ee oo Oo

140

P. 

V. 

Port.

gey yaa wey_ wey haa wey aa wey aa hey - ee Yoo! Hii yee hee!

There are both advantages and disadvantages to transcribing music. Transcriptions help us isolate musical details that we wish to study and can help us think about music in new ways. However, no transcription, no matter how precise or detailed, can truly represent what we hear. Musical notation is a means by which certain musical traditions represent sound in written form and give instruction for performance. The Delaware Skin Dance songs, however, were not traditionally played using notation. Delaware and Iroquois music was never dreamed or composed with the idea of musical notation in mind, although it was some of the earliest music Europeans heard on this continent and the earliest described and transcribed in their journals—Father Gabriel Sagard, who visited Huronia in 1623 tried his hand at annotating Iroquois songs (Fenton 1942, 3).

For my analysis, I decided to selectively transcribe a small sample of Delaware Skin Dance songs using Western music notation, which serve as an example of some of the musical elements discussed in this chapter.¹⁷ Figure 3.1 shows musical transcriptions of the first three songs heard on Example 1 sung by Art Johnson and Lyle Anderson: the “Introduction A,” “Gwii aa hoo jii nee,” and “Waa gey haa ney-ee A.” This sample transcription serves as an example of many of the musical elements discussed in this chapter.

Small arrows above notes indicate when the pitch sung is slightly higher or lower than the pitch shown. For the most part, singers in Example 1 do not use intervals smaller than a half

¹⁷ Please note, lyric and music transcriptions provided in this chapter are intended to accompany my analyses. Songs are learned through the oral tradition and these transcriptions cannot, nor are they meant to, instruct the reader in singing Delaware Skin Dance songs. These songs belong to a vibrant living tradition carried by Haudenosaunee singers. The examples will aid those with Western musical training in identifying the aforementioned musical elements. I encourage the reader to *listen* to the songs rather than rely solely on my transcriptions. I take full responsibility and apologize for any mistakes in notation and lyrics herein.

step. Occasionally, however, microtones are used. In comparing specific melodies in which microtones are heard, instances of microtonal use are fairly consistent among singers. This detail is juxtaposed against the fact that I believe Iroquois singing aesthetics accept wide intervals of pitch wavering, or vibrato—often reaching as much as a whole step. While other singing traditions might view pitch wavering to that extent as undisciplined, the fact that singers can effectively use microtones is testimonial to the control years of “vocal training” in singing alongside their elders has developed.

Since time immemorial generations of Iroquois singers have learned to sing through the oral tradition. As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, singer genealogies are identifiable in Iroquois communities; sometimes one need only hear a man sing one song in order to guess with whom he has sung. Communities wishing to revitalize oral traditions stand at a real disadvantage of restoring their customs once knowledgeable elders have passed away. In cases such as the Delaware Skin Dance, the Delaware’s only hope of reviving the tradition lies with the assistance of Iroquois singers willing to teach them and the availability of Delaware people with the desire and discipline to learn the songs. Ron LaFrance describes how beginning singers learn to sing social dance songs.

The Head Singer has a particular set of songs or verses that he or she has learned from the person with whom they sang as a second drummer. Once they are confident, they too will compose new verses. When a singer begins, the people can tell with whom he or she has sung and where and when a particular set of verses or songs was developed and composed. Usually the Head Singer will try a very difficult verse to see if his helpers can sing with him. This practice—always done with a sense of humor—is not to make any one feel ashamed or intimidated, but to advance the music and the melodies. It is a way to build and enhance the music’s vocabulary. (LaFrance 1992, 23)

Delaware Skin Dance songs with Oneida words in them may be a good place for Delaware people who want to revive the songs to begin exploring possibilities of how they could fit within the context of modern-day traditions in their respective communities. Lyric and music analyses

provided in this chapter show that there are many similarities between songs; studying them may assist students of the songs in learning them.

Nearly half a century ago Kurath discussed the problems Iroquois elders faced in teaching songs and dances to younger generations. Difficulties in cultural retention have contributed to changes one sees today in dances like the Delaware Skin Dance.

Despite the perseverance of ritual and an amazing repertoire of songs and dances, there are increasing signs of change. Young people rarely trouble to memorize long rituals with a hundred songs, and therefore the aged ceremonialists, realizing that they are not being adequately replaced, are becoming concerned. Ritual holders have decided that the songs must be preserved and are therefore less reluctant (some are even enthusiastic) to record for trusted ethnologists and friends. (Kurath 1964, xiv)

Although Kurath witnessed change occurring at an accelerated rate, noting a downturn in musical retention, I believe that at present Iroquois communities are experiencing an upturn of traditional culture that represents a slow but steady recovery from hardships sustained through experiences like colonization, relocation, and boarding school. Contemporary recovery and revival will help ensure continuity in dances like the Delaware Skin Dance for future generations. Six Nations longhouses remain a sanctuary for preserving soundscape stability. Men like Lotunt Honyust, Wesley Halsey, and the dozens of young men who sing with their elders give real hope to the continuance of the Iroquois' vibrant musical life and to the Delaware Skin Dance.

CHAPTER 4

THE DELAWARE SKIN DANCE AND REVIVALISTIC MUSICAL REVITALIZATION: A PATH TOWARD DELAWARE CULTURAL RENEWAL

Introduction

The previous three chapters discussed the Delaware Skin Dance in terms of its past usage and present performance. In this chapter I take my consideration of the Delaware Skin Dance one step further by considering its significance to contemporary Delaware people and its potential for musical revitalization. Academic sources on revitalization—specifically musical revitalization—are limited and those that do exist address historical movements or those that have been underway for a considerable length of time. This chapter speaks to musical revitalization that is just emerging, with hope for its potential to transform Delaware musical traditions, identity, and communication for future generations. Victoria Lindsay Levine, author of “Musical Revitalization Among the Choctaw” in *American Music*, discusses Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Louisiana Choctaw musical revitalization as a means of cultural survival.

Musical revitalization movements have been a primary strategy for cultural survival among Native North Americans; such movements are burgeoning as the century draws to a close...The goal of musical revitalization is not simply to reinstitute an earlier performance tradition in its totality, or to introduce modifications purely on the basis of feasibility. Rather, it is an expression of individual discernment and choice regarding the musical traits and qualities selected to represent a particular genre of performance. (Levine 1993, 391-2)

As with other tribes, Delaware participation in powwows is a major component of their involvement in Native music and dance. Intertribal gatherings have provided a forum for Delaware people to make musical, cultural, and social connections with the greater Indian community. Of the many Delaware groups scattered throughout the United States and Canada, some, like members of the Delaware Tribe of Indians of Bartlesville, Oklahoma, were successful

in continuing the practice of their social dances; many others, however, were not and, although very active in powwow music and dance, possess no traditional Delaware music that was passed down from previous generations.

Anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace, particularly known for his work on the topic of the new religion initiated by the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake among nineteenth century Iroquois, cites five revitalization movements in North America—"The Handsome Lake case (Seneca, 1799-1815), the Delaware Prophet (associated with Pontiac, 1762-1765), the Shawnee Prophet (associated with Tecumseh, 1805-1814), the Ghost Dance (1888-1896), and Peyote"—as well as a variety of other cases from Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America, such as John Wesley and early Methodism in Europe (1738-1800) and the Taiping Rebellion in China (1843-1864) (Wallace 1956, 264). Ethnomusicologist Levine uses Wallace's definition of a revitalization movement, "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture... the persons involved in the process of revitalization...must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits" (Levine 1993, 391; Wallace 1956, 265). Using Wallace's explanation of how revitalization works, the Delaware Skin Dance is a candidate for revitalization if Delaware individuals intentionally bring the dance into use, while making it their own by systematically integrating the tradition into their respective community.

Levine extends Wallace's definition of revitalization to create a description specific to musical application.

Musical revitalization constitutes a special kind of musical change. It is a strategy used by oppressed people to perpetuate their musical cultures in situations where an imbalance of social power exists. Musical revitalization is founded on individual conviction, and provides a unique opportunity to reshape, reinterpret, and redefine a musical culture. In addition, musical revitalization is articulatory in nature: it has to do with the way people use music to identify themselves, make sense out of their historical experience, and

transcend social constraints such as the repression of traditional culture by the dominant group. (Levine 1993, 391-2)

I use Levine's definition of musical revitalization to outline a project that I believe could lead toward Delaware cultural renewal. Delaware people express their interest in the Delaware Skin Dance, some have a desire to learn to sing it, and a few have taken steps to develop relationships with Haudenosaunee singers who can teach them the songs. As mentioned in Chapter 1, momentous occasions toward rebuilding Delaware knowledge of the Delaware Skin Dance took place in 2010 when, at the request of Delaware friends, Oneida singer Lotunt Honyust brought the dance to both the Munsee-Delaware First Nation Powwow in Muncey, Ontario and the Delaware Nation Powwow in Moraviantown, Ontario, where the Iroquois and Delaware people danced together.

Referencing Ralph Linton's definition of "revivalistic" revitalizations, which are inner-directed and esoteric in focus, Levine writes:

In revivalistic musical revitalization, a repertory that had ceased to be performed is restored, with modifications that reflect the interests, needs, and tastes of the individuals involved. Such a movement is undertaken to resolve cultural dissonance through a return to earlier cultural values, as embodied in traditional music and dance. (Levine 1993, 405; Linton and Hallowell 1943, 233)

Predating Mooney (1965), but compatible with him, Wallace (1956) believes, "Revivalistic' movements emphasize the institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present" (Wallace 1956, 267; Mooney 1965).

It is my theory that revitalizing the Delaware Skin Dance through a revivalistic movement can elevate Delaware people in multiple ways that move beyond advancing their social dance repertoire or teaching them a genre other than powwow songs. First, because revivalistic musical revitalization provides an opportunity to redesign musical performance based

on new social contexts, it also offers an occasion to renew personal and communal identity and strengthen these connections. Second, music and dance can create bridges for communication between those who share it, which may lead to enhanced cooperation and solidarity. Third, the outcomes of revivalistic musical revitalization—cultural renewal, creating a common language, and reinvigorating kinship connections—are excellent approaches toward ethnogenesis and decolonization. Because Delaware communities are diverse, their choices of whether or not to revitalize music, which music to revitalize, and how to go about doing it will differ as well. While there are many approaches to musical revitalization, looking to accomplished examples as a model might help ensure success.

One example of revivalistic musical revitalization is described in “Musical Revitalization Among the Choctaw,” where Levine discusses a dance held by Ardmore Choctaw elder Buster Ned in 1975 that led to the establishment of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Heritage Committee, founded to preserve Choctaw and Chickasaw songs and dances (Levine 1993, 397). She describes how Buster Ned and his uncle Adam Sampson, their principal song leader, were successful in reshaping and reinterpreting Choctaw musical culture by using their shared knowledge of the Ardmore Choctaw’s musical past in combination with processes that involved adjusting performances to fit new social contexts, reformatting the order in which dances are performed, imbuing the dances with new symbolic significance, and determining new criteria for qualifying song repertory, musical style, musical concepts, and performance practices (Levine 1993, 397).

Delaware musical revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance could also be portrayed as “revivalistic” in nature because, like the Ardmore Choctaw, the Delaware would be involved in processes of “reshaping, reinterpreting, and redefining their musical culture” that privilege the

esoteric; would rely on leaders to direct musical revitalization; would make new decisions about performance contexts; and would develop their own conceptual constructs to guide performances, such as whether to group the songs based on similarities in vocables or whether to accompany the dance on a Delaware Skin Drum, on a bench with a stick, on a hand drum, or in some other manner (Levine 1993, 405).

Renewing Musical Performance and Identity

Music and identity are closely linked in all societies. As Chi'xapkaid explains in “Decolonizing Through Storytelling” in *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*, “Songs help us to remember important teachings and events, and even help to identify who we are in the world” (Chi'xapkaid [Michael Pavel] 2005, 132). I argue that musical traditions have the power to influence identity both inwardly and outwardly and that revivalistic musical revitalization can assist Delaware people in maintaining and reawakening their identity. Music is one element in the discourse of a group of people that contributes to the force of who they are, articulating both how they see themselves and how they want others to see them. Musical performance reaffirms and recreates that identity at every ceremony, social dance, or musical event. Therefore, repetition plays an important role in sustaining and intensifying identity. Revivalistic musical revitalization might be especially useful to the Delaware, who lost some musical traditions due to genocide, missionization, relocation, and colonization, where continual practice and repetition of these musical traditions became sparse or lapsed. The Delaware Skin Dance, which is both culturally and historically rich, lends an opportunity for the Delaware to develop a greater understanding of their past, reshape their present identity, and shape the identity and traditions of future generations.

The Haudenosaunee have held onto and fostered the Delaware Skin Dance for

generations, saying that they were asked by the Delaware to take care of the songs in a time when the Delaware's musical traditions could no longer support the songs due to lack of available singers. It is only through the Iroquois that Delaware people can relearn the dance and the songs that accompany it. Currently, sharing the songs takes place on the individual level. The Delaware individuals with interest in learning the songs have asked specific Iroquois singers for their help in learning them. In the future, the process of repatriation may other forms. It is possible that repatriation on the national or multi-national level could take place. Some form of gift giving would likely accompany requests such as this. I offered tobacco to Iroquois individuals when asking for their support in learning about the Delaware Skin Dance. Many of the singers I interviewed expressed their willingness to teach the Delaware Skin Dance to Delaware people, asking only that they be offered tobacco.

In creating a revivalistic musical movement, musical practitioners make decisions about performance based on the kind of revitalization they wish to create. With good foresight, they can employ music to bolster particular elements of their community's identity or bring certain imbalances into equilibrium. Whereas early twentieth century Ardmore Choctaws performed their songs and dances privately overnight in the outdoors, today's performances mirror Iroquois social dances in that they are conducted in a variety of public and private spaces. The Ardmore Choctaw have modified not only the social context of their performances, but also their duration, where, when, and with whom they are performed (Levine 1993, 397-8). The Delaware will have to make similar decisions in revitalizing the Delaware Skin Dance; the decisions they make will be based largely on the beliefs and needs of their respective communities as well as the influence of elders and individual musical practitioners involved in the process.

A key choice in any revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance will be whether to adopt

the Iroquois' contemporary format of the dance and incorporate it into social dances, to repurpose it in its former ceremonial context, or to use the dance in creation of a new Delaware musical tradition. While the Haudenosaunee formerly employed the Delaware Skin Dance as a healing dance and currently use it in social contexts, Six Nations oral history of how the Delaware used it varies by community. Some say its function was connected to the Delaware Big House ceremony and others connect it to feasts, which were probably also linked to the Big House. Singer Wesley Halsey, of the Oneida in Upstate New York, explains the function of the dance to the Delaware as he was taught, "The way I learned it was...they would do it in honor of a good hunt or a good kill. They would do it in honor of the animal" (Halsey 2010). The skin of the animal—presumably a buck—was stretched by men and drummed on by the singer, producing a sound like wood hitting wood, to accompany the dance (Halsey 2010). Successfully revitalizing the Delaware Skin Dance will involve developing a framework within which the dance can be culturally contextualized within social or ceremonial mores in an authentic fashion. By authentic I mean developing musical revitalization around traditions that fit a particular Delaware community. Only members of respective Delaware communities can decide if new traditions should be integrated into their culture; if so, they will also decide how traditions can be authentically incorporated. Delaware people who possess an active connection to their traditional hunting practices might decide to use the dance as a way of honoring successful hunts and reconnect with hunting from earlier times, but this application would not be contextually appropriate for those who do not.

Because different Delaware communities have diverse histories, needs, and interests, so too would be their approaches toward musical revitalization, which might not all take revivalistic paths. Such was the case with Ardmore Choctaw in comparison to Mississippi and Louisiana

Choctaw.

The Choctaw people of Ardmore, Oklahoma, participated in revivalistic musical revitalization; they reconstructed a defunct musical tradition in an effort to renew the spirit of an earlier, better time. The Mississippi Choctaw participated in perpetuative musical revitalization; they devised a means of strengthening and preserving their repertory, which plays a vital role in their maintenance of a discrete ethnic identity. The Louisiana Choctaw participated in a different sort of perpetuative musical revitalization; they subsumed the distinct Choctaw repertory into a localized pantribal music and ceremonial complex...The Choctaw illustrate three different but related approaches to musical revitalization. Each Choctaw community employed the approach best suited to its needs, according to the socio-historical experience of each group, and the discernment and choices of the individuals involved. (Levine 1993, 408-9)

Indigenous people are too often lumped together without consideration for the many unique qualities that distinguish them. One would be wrong to assume that people with the same name—Delaware—were uniform in their needs and identity. Yet, there are forward-moving undercurrents in Delaware communities—which are divided geographically (from the eastern seaboard to Ontario, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma), culturally, and politically—and they are moving the people in the direction of revitalizing vital cultural components, like language and music.

The diversity of the Native American population is, in many ways, the exception that proves the rule...These many native communities—urban and reservation, federally recognized and nonrecognized, tribal and intertribal—have in recent years undertaken very similar patterns of ethnic resurgence. This simultaneity and commonality in the face of diversity suggests that national forces are at work exerting similar pressures and support for Indian ethnic renewal and that there is a national trend among native people to bolster and reclaim their individual and collective heritage. (Nagel 1996, 9)

According to Nagel, among the most accessible cultural components for revitalization are those symbolic and expressive in nature (Nagel 1996, 45). Nagel explains the difference between cultural practices suitable for revival—those that have been lost or forgotten, and those eligible for restoration—those that can be pieced together, having fallen into disuse or intermittent use (Nagel 1996, 197). The Delaware Skin Dance is an example of the former and is a good

candidate for revival because not only are there Delaware individuals seeking these teachings that are spurred to revive them, there are also Iroquois individuals knowledgeable about the music and dance who are willing to share that information. “Both cultural revival and cultural restoration involve the use of the past to rebuild the present,” writes Nagel. “Both forms of cultural reconstruction are often undertaken by communities attempting to revitalize weakened ethnic boundaries or to reestablish ethnic group solidarity” (Nagel 1996, 197).

Successful musical revitalization movements are sparked by one or more leaders in cooperation with their respective communities (Levine 1993, 392). If, for example, two Delaware singers learned the Delaware Skin Dance songs, sang them and taught them to children in the community, a significant shift in musical culture could occur in as little as one generation. One way to imagine this endeavor is from the perspective of how the Iroquois learned and incorporated the dance in a way that worked in terms of their society and musical culture. Delaware revival of the Delaware Skin Dance is a matter of reinterpreting the dance in a manner that suitably retranslates it as an articulation of Delaware historical and present identity and the image of themselves they wish to project for future generations. Just as the Haudenosaunee “Iroquois-ized” the Delaware Skin Dance songs through melodic embellishment and vocable/lexical modification, so could the Delaware “Delaware-ize” these songs through their own sequencing of the songs or even by replacing the vocables with Delaware words. The Haudenosaunee’s success in retaining their musical traditions can partially be attributed to their mastery of cultural adaptation and resilience. Some young Iroquois compose and sing new Delaware Skin Dance songs, although elders see the genre as close-ended, which makes one wonder, if future Delaware generations were taught the songs, would they too write new ones. Whether through replication of current Iroquois performance or refigured in a new way, because

of its origins, the Delaware Skin Dance can be used as a vehicle for perpetuating Delaware identity, while acknowledging the adverse history they have survived.

Certain choices will be made in the process of appropriately retranslating the dance that will activate revivalistic musical revitalization. These decisions will not only help reshape musical culture; they will also contribute to the ongoing process of carving Delaware identity. One example involves instrumentation, as shown in Levine's example.

Ned and Sampson do not consider instrumentation as central to Choctaw performance. In the early twentieth century, the Ardmore Choctaw accompanied certain dance songs with a pair of striking sticks. When they revitalized the tradition, they replaced the striking sticks with a double-headed hand drum. Ned and Sampson state that they chose the drum for pragmatic as well as aesthetic reasons. The species of hickory traditionally used to manufacture striking sticks is no longer available in the Ardmore area, and members of the Heritage Committee agreed that the drum sounded good. For Ned and Sampson, the principle of percussive accompaniment in certain songs is important; the particular instrument used is not. (Levine 1993, 399)

In the case of our subject, the Delaware Skin Dance is intimately linked with the instrument from which it derives its name—the Delaware Skin Drum. The Delaware consider this instrument, which was only used during the Delaware Big House ceremony, as sacred and not intended for common use. Therefore, using the drum in a non-ceremonial manner might be seen as inappropriate, making it unlikely that it would be used if the dance were revived as a social dance. If, however, the intention were to use the dance for a ceremonial purpose or in a modified version of the Delaware Big House ceremony, one would expect the Delaware Skin Drum to be used. Because the Delaware Skin Drum is an instrument unique to the Delaware, its use would also reinforce Delaware identity and the origin of the songs. Use of the drum would depend on other factors as well; for instance, whether the materials needed—in this case a deer hide—were attainable.

In current Haudenosaunee Delaware Skin Dance practice, participants often wear street

clothes to social dances. In public performances, traditional Iroquois dress is often worn, although Native and non-Natives not in regalia are invited to participate. Similarly, in the case of the Ardmore Choctaw, “Heritage Committee members cultivate a highly individualistic approach to traditional dress.”

They make no effort to color-coordinate their costumes, nor does the lack of a costume prohibit or inhibit anyone from dancing in either public or private events. Details of the traditional costume may also be modified in highly individualistic ways, according to personal style, taste, and budget. (Levine 1993, 405)

The type of clothing Delaware people would adopt in performing the Delaware Skin Dance would largely depend on the context in which they were used.

The Delaware framework for reviving the Delaware Skin Dance can go deeper than these examples of choice in instrumentation and dress, particularly if we consider what the dance, at its core, means and symbolizes to Delaware people. I suggest that, regardless of performance context, the Delaware Skin Dance offers fortification of Delaware identity through reconnection with Delaware ancestors, ancient teachings, and elements of musical traditions lost long ago. Further, it can also contribute to a restored relationship between Delaware people and other living beings, including members of the animal, plant, and spirit worlds. Regarding our model, Levine writes:

The Ardmore Choctaw have reinterpreted their tradition by adapting the structure of their performances to new contexts and by endowing performances with new meaning....In revitalizing their musical culture, the Ardmore Choctaw did not attempt to reproduce their historic dance events as such, but they did seek to recreate the spirit of early dances in contemporary performance contexts. They have achieved this by retaining in outline the structure of the early events. (Levine 1993, 399)

A prominent theme in Delaware ideology in which music and dance play a part is in maintaining balance in the world between two dichotomic divisions. It should be stressed that this separation does not indicate opposing constituents; rather, they are complementary units that

only successfully achieve harmony through equilibrium. The following are a few examples:

<i>Nzukeew</i>	(Black)	<i>Maxkeew</i>	(Red)
<i>Linoow</i>	(Man)	<i>Oxkweew</i>	(Woman)
<i>Piiskeeke</i>	(Night)	<i>Waapan</i>	(Day)
<i>Pumaawsihitiit</i> (The ones that are living)		<i>Meenihlahtiit</i> (The ones that are not living)	

Achieving balance requires continual negotiation. Likewise, in Haudenosaunee culture, “Harmony is achieved by a dialectic synthesis between the two opposites, expressed symbolically by the union of the male and female sides” (Lynch 1965, 84). Complementary division of the sexes exhibited in the Delaware Skin Dance, in which the men dance at the front of the line and the women dance behind them, is reflective of the gender roles of men and women. Singer Lotunt Honyust believes this symbolism transcends from the dance’s distant past among the Delaware and was used in seeing hunters off on their journey.

The hunters, they danced in the front there....It kind of represented the responsibilities of the men....They would use [the dance] to send them off....the other part...of the male responsibility was to provide protection....Whatever came, the men had that responsibility to protect the families. And who takes care of the families is the women, because if anything happens to our women, then there’s no more families. Then there’s no more people. There’s no more community....Their responsibilities that they carried were *the* most important. And that was to take care of the food life and to take care of the babies, the children, [...] to make sure that the children were going to be all right.

The men were acknowledging the responsibilities of the women and the things that they do, because they knew that if the women...couldn’t take care of the food life, then they were going to starve...So the women’s responsibility is to take care of our life. They’re our life supporters. And then at the same time they’re the ones that carry the babies, or the ones that also *give* life....That’s the reason why that dance is set up the way that it is, with the men in the front and the women going behind....The men are like the shield...that protects....They’ve got to go through all those men before they get to the first woman. (Honyust 2010)

Through dancing the Delaware Skin Dance in this arrangement—men leading the line and women dancing behind—Delaware people reenact ancestral teachings associated with male and

female gender roles and acknowledge their complementary responsibilities and existence. Nagel states, “We must not overlook the fact that there is a great deal of social and cultural continuity in many American Indian communities that has stretched forward from earlier centuries into the present” (Nagel 1996, 9). Native Americans can benefit from identifying these enduring threads and pulling cultural resources into their communities in order to sustain and reinvigorate tribal identity.

Building Communication

Revivalistic musical revitalization presents an opportunity for individuals, families, and communities to develop communication, find commonalities, and build unity. A difficulty in many Indigenous groups, including Delaware communities, is lack of a critical mass of people to take on revitalization of culture, especially music and language. Collaborative relationships are in everyone’s best interest because much more can be accomplished by working together, in cooperation with one another.

Whatever the design or content, it is through such processes of renewal that ethnic groups strengthen and reconstitute themselves. Through common identification, group formation and reformation, and cultural production and reproduction, ethnicity is revitalized and constantly renewed. (Nagel 1996, 10)

Music and dance have the ability to create a common cultural language between those who share it, and this bridge can serve to join them through shared traditions. Efforts to build a collective spoken language through Unami and Munsee Delaware language revitalization—for example, work accomplished by the Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheeshkoolhaalaweesak Eehakehkiingewaniikaan (the Lunaape Speakers Teacher’s Academy)—have been quite successful considering the small community of language learners they started out with that is quickly growing. Similarly, community building through musical revitalization could serve Delaware communities in celebrating their similar but unique histories, negotiating their related

yet separate identities, and support working toward appreciation of kinship connections from the smallest to largest levels.

Revivalistic revitalization of both music and language could work in tandem to connect ancestral Delaware epistemology with the present and maintain these philosophies for future generations. Delaware singers may decide to translate the Oneida words that Lotunt Honyust was taught to sing in particular songs (which are discussed in Chapter 3) into Delaware. This activity could be regarded as part of a decolonial project where, with help from Iroquois singers, Delaware singers would not only learn their relations' songs, but also reconstruct and transform them in a way that would imbue them with more Delaware meaning and application. Additionally, they might decide to extend these phrases, to plant their own language in the Delaware Skin Dance songs, and to learn musical terms in Delaware.¹⁸ From a lyric perspective, the most difficult aspect of this endeavor might be fitting Delaware lyrics in the place of Oneida lyrics, given the difference between the two in number of syllables. In Table 4.1, I provide retranslations of the Oneida lyrics into Munsee Delaware along with their English translation.

¹⁸ Please see the glossary in Appendix 4 for relevant musical terminology and their Munsee Delaware translations.

Table 4.1: Oneida-Munsee-English lyric translations

Oneida	Munsee¹⁹	English
<i>We kanat: yo</i>	<i>Wulu-ooteeneeng</i>	A good village
<i>Yo ta tsyo</i>	<i>Shaawu kway leew</i> (<i>Shaawu kway leek</i>)	Something is happening right now
<i>Waké ta:ké</i>	<i>Nda</i> (<i>Nwiite</i>)	I am going
<i>Waknastè?</i>	<i>Nmoxweelumaakwun</i>	It is precious to me (almost to the point of being stingy of it)
<i>Kahuwi:yo</i>	<i>Wulamoxool</i>	Good canoe
<i>Kanawiyo ha:wi</i>	<i>Kulunum</i> (<i>Kweekw kwulunumun</i>)	To be carrying something/He is carrying something
<i>Yuwn hey</i>	<i>Halumii pumaawsuwaakan</i>	Everlasting life ²⁰

(Honyust 2010; Jacobs 2010)

Although language and songs are invisible to the eye, I believe they can provide greater indication of a people's identity than physical objects because they have the power to illustrate how people and their ancestors envision the world and represent it in sound. For instance, even in a small lyric example—"Yuwn hey"—there is great meaning. This acknowledgement of all living things imports that those singing the lyrics possess a deep connection with the world around them. Use of physical objects, like the traditional Delaware Skin Drum, display an enactment of this connectivity, since the drum honors the buck that gave its life to sustain that of the people.

Revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance has the ability not only to provide a forum for Delaware people to develop social cohesion, but also to promote amicable relationships between

¹⁹ Words in parenthesis indicate an alternative way to express the phrase in Munsee.

the Delaware and Haudenosaunee. Lotunt Honyust told me:

I think we need to look at...how can we help each other today. What can we do today? What can we do to help each other in the future? So that's why I've always said—that if there's ever any Lenapes that ever want to come back and learn this song, that I'd be willing to teach them. Because I know that was the responsibility that was given to us at that time, when we first went down there and made those relationships with the Lenape. (Honyust 2010)

It is all too easy to become consumed with the losses American Indian cultures have suffered.

While I do not think this should be downplayed, it is disheartening that so much of the focus in scholarly work on Native American topics, public perception of Indian people, and even some Native communities' view of themselves is placed on the breakdown of culture, while barely taking a fleeting look at the monumental accomplishments made in Indigenous America. I believe we need more academic scholarship that not only focuses on our survival, diversity, cultural revitalization, and decolonization, but that also provides information useful to other Indigenous people dealing with similar issues who are trying to accomplish analogous missions.

Decolonization and Ethnogenesis

The products of revivalistic musical revitalization discussed in this chapter—reshaping and renewing culture and identity, forging a common cultural language, and restoring kinship connections—can generate ethnogenesis and decolonization; thus, revivalistic musical revitalization can be seen as part of a larger project toward healing and mobilizing Indigenous communities through creative, transformative processes.

By *ethnogenesis* I mean ethnic renewal, which, in *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*, Joane Nagel defines as “the process whereby new ethnic identities, communities, and cultures are built or rebuilt out of historical and social and symbolic systems” (Nagel 1996, 10). Collective ethnic renewal involves community

²⁰ The spelling of “*Yuwn hey*” reflects the double vowel system used for Munsee Delaware, not the Oneida spelling.

reconstruction through “building or rebuilding of institutions, culture, traditions, or history” (Nagel 1996, 10). Renewal of culture may involve the creation of new or revision of old cultural practices (Nagel 1996, 10), for which I see the Delaware Skin Dance as a viable candidate.

By *decolonization* I mean counteracting the subjugation or exploitation of Indigenous Peoples, their culture, lands, or resources. Scholars disagree about when or if colonization has come to an end; some cultural studies theorists describe the post-colonial period as beginning after the Second World War (Smith 2008, 69). I perceive colonization as an ongoing process. According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, author of *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, decolonization is recognized as a long-term project involving “bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power” (Smith 2008, 98). In *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*, Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird write, “First and foremost, decolonization must occur in our own minds...the first step toward decolonization, then, is to question the legitimacy of colonization. Once we recognize the truth of this injustice we can think about ways to resist and challenge colonial institutions and ideologies” (Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird 2005, 2). Music can actively support decolonizing processes by strengthening Indigenous identity and community in preparation for working to neutralize and shed the influence of colonial powers, who sought to assimilate and strategically divide Delaware and other Indigenous communities.

Some intellectuals working in decolonization resist putting it in the same basket with terms like “cultural revitalization.” Smith contends that the term implies Indigenous cultures need rescuing; other scholars reject the notion of music revitalization, seeing it as a step toward assimilation (Levine 1993, 392; Smith 2008, 108; Powers 1990). Levine, on the other hand, proposes, “It is now possible to view Native American musical revitalization as an extension or

reconstruction of traditional culture—a strategy for preserving cultural continuity instead of a harbinger of assimilation and cultural abandonment (Levine 1993, 392). I agree with Levine, who envisions Native American people as agents in processes of musical change and stresses a dynamic, living perspective of American Indian music history.

Transmission of the Delaware Skin Dance from the Delaware to the Haudenosaunee is directly linked to European colonizers removing the Delaware from their traditional homelands. If the Haudenosaunee repatriate the dance to the Delaware, this in effect reverses the progression. Therefore, I would argue that this event could be seen as part of the decolonizing process not only for the Delaware, but also for the Iroquois.

Smith imagines decolonization, transformation, mobilization, and healing as four outposts on the path to self-determination (Smith 2008, 117). Beyond its promise to play a role in decolonization, revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance can also take part in transformation—through reshaping and renewing musical traditions and identity; mobilization—by connecting the Delaware with their tribal relations and with the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Tuscarora; and healing—by reviving ancient musical culture and mending feelings of cultural loss.

It may be useful to look to examples beyond Native American music revitalization as they will likely have some things in common with one another. For example, the issue of authenticity is a common problem between revivalistic music revitalization and folk revival. For urban folk revivalists, who disliked the pop-folk scene, authenticity was very important. To them, it meant learning the repertoire of performers such as Mississippi John Hurt and playing it as closely to his recordings as possible (Weissman 2005, 13). Will authenticity of the Delaware Skin Dance be gauged on its resemblance to contemporary Haudenosaunee performances or a

reinterpretation of ancient Delaware ones? Performance contexts will depend on the decisions of individual communities who will, ultimately, carve out the qualities of what they believe makes the performance authentic. These aspects may not be the same, of course, as those valued in Iroquois communities and in other Delaware communities.

It is interesting to note that an element of “otherness” accompanies many revivals, which appeal primarily to individuals participating in traditions not their own (Jackson 1993, 73). For example, “Blues were popular in the folksong revival, but the audiences were mostly whites; rural songs and performers were popular, but the audiences were mostly urban; labor songs were popular, but the audiences were mostly middle-class students,” writes Bruce Jackson in “The Folksong Revival” (Jackson 1993, 73). While the Delaware Skin Dance originates with the Delaware, a foreign element is also present because the songs have been so far removed from Delaware people for so long. In a chapter published in *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, Anne Lederman hypothesizes that, overall, musicians “will maintain a piece more accurately if they have direct personal contact with its source. Like-wise, the further removed one is emotionally, physically, or culturally from a human source, the more likely one is to alter the materials at hand” (Lederman 1993, 163). Lederman views learning music from recordings as an example of vast disconnection, while live interaction remains the most intimate connection. I would add that learning music from musical scores can be even further dissociative. For these reasons, I have hope that Delaware singers will, at least in part, learn the Delaware Skin Dance songs through live interaction with Iroquois singers.

There are points where American Indian music revitalizations might diverge from the approaches of other music revitalizations. For example, since there were only so many traditional songs that could be learned, the folk revival led to a flowering singer-songwriter

tradition (Weissman 2005, 14). It is questionable whether or not Delaware singers will reopen Delaware Skin Dance repertoire to new songs.

Just as it is important to define what music revival looks like, it is equally essential to be able to identify what it is not. Bruce Jackson offers an interesting example, which can be easily be compared to Iroquois and Delaware performance of the Delaware Skin Dance.

It is not, in my view, a revival when a group of Arkansas musicians in Arkansas sings Arkansas songs for fellow Arkansans—not unless these songs are self-consciously learned in order to put on such a performance. On the other hand, middle-class Italians in Buffalo, New York, using federal funds to hire Italian traditional singers from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to put on concerts for them, as happened recently, *are* part of the revival. (Jackson 1993, 73-74)

Likewise, Iroquois singers performing the Delaware Skin Dance at their social dances would not be considered a revival. However, when they perform the dance in the presence of Delaware people, with the purpose of sharing the songs with them, that is part of a revival.

Conclusion

When will this revivalistic revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance occur? It has already begun. Long ago, when the Delaware asked the Haudenosaunee to hold the dance for them, their musical culture was suffering. The Iroquois have faithfully kept their promise to foster the dance until the Delaware have able singers who can learn and maintain it once again. This process is in the early, budding stages, as Delaware people are learning about the dance, dancing it at Iroquois and now Delaware events, and several are learning the songs. This revitalization process must begin locally and will take time, especially as Delaware singers learning the songs develop proficiency.

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I use the Ardmore Choctaw case of musical revitalization as a model to suggest that revivalistic revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance will promote Delaware well-being through reshaping and renewal of Delaware musical culture

and identity and will create new webs of communication between Delaware and Iroquois communities. I also propose that this movement will work toward furthering ethnogenesis and decolonization.

Delaware identity is not the same as it was one-hundred, three-hundred, or one-thousand-years ago; living things are not static, they are dynamic, ever changing, and three-dimensional. Indigenous identities do, however, rely heavily on maintaining continuity through connections with their ancestral past and also with their heirs. The idea that the impact of today's decisions should be contemplated with the well-being of the next Seven Generations in mind is a common philosophy in many Native American cultures. Reviving musical traditions involves reshaping them for application in contemporary contexts and in ways that will sustain these traditions for one's descendants. The Delaware Skin Dance cannot only aid Delaware people in connecting with their descendants; it can also link them with their ancient relations who once possessed the dance.

Revivalistic musical revitalization of the Delaware Skin Dance across communities can link Delaware descendants, who have been separated for many years, with a common cultural language, which might include music and dance aesthetics, cosmology, oral history, ancestral teachings, and Delaware language. Like revitalization of Munsee and Unami language, it can contribute to bonding them through cultural elements imbued with the Delaware worldview. The dance can also create and renew relationships with the Haudenosaunee. It is possible to forge even broader connections. Smith discusses a new Indigenous agenda that moves beyond decolonization and aims toward developing "global indigenous strategic alliances" (Smith 2008, 108). In the future, music might play a role not only in ethnogenesis and decolonization, but also in the Delaware entering these worldwide conversations.

APPENDIX A

Making a Delaware Skin Drum

Introduction

Study of the Delaware Skin Dance has led me to reflect heavily on the sound of the Delaware Skin Drum and the ways in which Haudenosaunee people have attempted to reproduce that sound by drumming wooden sticks on a wooden bench and, in the 1969 Iroqrafts example, by using a cornflakes box. I wanted to hear the sound for myself, but this posed some difficulty. I do not know any living Delaware people who have played a Skin Drum to whom I might inquire about the sound; all of the existing Skin Drums I know of are held in museums; and even if I had access to a Skin Drum, it would not be appropriate to play it in this context due to the sacred nature of the drum. Therefore, I decided to attempt constructing my own as part of my organological study, using Harrington's sketches and descriptions in *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, my observations of museum-held examples at the National Museum of the American Indian and the Reading Public Museum, and my previous experience hunting and working with hides. Please note, the following represents my experiences in this endeavor and should in no way be considered the traditional Delaware method of constructing a Skin Drum, although through this effort I learned a great deal about the process. Questions addressed through this project include: What ecological knowledge is needed in obtaining materials for making the *pohwuniikan* (drum)? What traditional Delaware knowledge is needed to construct and play it? What does the Delaware Skin Drum sound like?

Hunting

Some of my earliest memories are of hunting with my father, mother, and grandfathers. Having hunted the same area for many years, my family's experiential hunting knowledge is

generationally cumulative and our relationship with the surrounding environment is longstanding.

Before *atohak* (deer, pl.) season, a hunter will scout for *atohak* sign and decide where to sit at *waapan* (dawn). He might see pressed down areas of grass, indicating *atohak kawiiitiit* (where the deer sleep) and *atohuchuy* (deer scat). He looks for where the *linooweexum atohung* (buck) *miitkwung wiilaawanal siikwiixunool* (he is rubbing his horns against the tree). He looks for places where the *atohak* are finding food, like under an *aapulushahkw* (apple tree). In the *waapan*, he offers *kwshahteew* (tobacco) and asks *Miisingw* (the Keeper of the Game) that he *nihlatohweew* (kill a deer). The hunter *kulaxeexiin* (he listens) for *atohak*.

The *ooxkweexum atohung* (doe) I harvested that was used to create my Skin Drum was smaller than a *linooweexum atohung*. Ideally I would have used a *xwachi-linooweexum atohung* (large buck), but I made use of what was provided. I wrote the following short story about one day hunting in the fall of 2010.

Nmaw-Alawii

Thahkameew kwuneewi-piiske-niipaahumung. Kohpii nmaw-alawii ngwiilawaawak atohak. Mbapamusii eeshu kohpii, nwiishalaawak atohak wundakw lu ktakaniik ehalawiisak aweeniil niipawihitiit lii peehaawaawal atohal. Atohak chachanaandpehleewak eenda moxa wiineek.

Wiixkwii nii neewa laaweewapooshiish kooneelhamunal. Naawalaaw laaweewapooshiish waak leelham. Na ha laaweewapooshiish! Chumoochuyeeshuw. Neeka pumahtakihleew. Xwachii-laaweewapooshiishuw!

Aayaaxkwu nii neewaawak neew-atohak, niishawak maxki-wshukwunayii-awehleewak, niishawak pahpahkoowak eeylii lunuweexumak, waak mayaawsuw waapalaneew.

Nii ngwuchiimoolaawak nehniipawihitiit:

“Kiiloowa ha kuneewaawu atoh?”

“Mahta.”

Niiloona mahta nihlaawiiwuna atohak. Shukw kwaachund, moxa wulahkameew!

I Went Hunting

It was a cold day in December. I was walking through the bush scaring the deer towards the other hunters who were standing there waiting. The deer are confused when it is snowing hard.

All of a sudden I saw bobcat tracks in the snow. I followed the bobcat and his tracks. There was the bobcat! He had a little bobbed tail. He was running fast. He was a big bobcat!

Later I saw four deer, two red-tailed hawks, two grouse—they were males—and a bald eagle.

I said to the standers:

“Do you (pl) see a deer?”

“No.”

We didn’t kill any deer. But goodness, it was a good day!

Fleshing and Dehairing the Hide

After killing the *atoh*, I used a *kiinanzhiikan* (sharp knife) to cut through the hide and membrane so that I could gut the *atoh*. I used a rope to drag the *atoh* out of the woods. After the *atoh* was skinned, the hide sat in a freezer until I was ready to make the *pohwuniikan*. Hides can be preserved for considerable periods of time by using methods such as freezing, salting and drying, or even borax (hydrated sodium borate). To create the *pohwuniikan*, the hide must be fleshed. While the Unami-style Skin Drum was made with the hair intact and rolled to the inside

with wooden slats strapped to it, the Munsee-style drum that I created appears to have had the hair removed and is neatly folded into a package-looking form (Harrington 1921, 94, 129). Therefore, dehairing the hide was also a necessary process. Tools and supplies needed for fleshing and dehairing the hide include: a moving source of water, bucket with a lid, lye, scraper, and a fleshing beam.²¹ I also used a waterproof apron, gloves, and tarp for easy cleanup.

I took the hide out of the freezer and let it thaw for about half a day. I put one cup of lye into the bucket, added water, and submerged the hide. The lye helps break down the hair follicle and makes it easier to remove.²² I soaked the hide in the solution for three days.²³



Illustration Appendix A.1: Soaking the *atoh* hide in the lye/water solution

I used the fleshing beam and scraper to remove remaining flesh from the inside of the hide.²⁴ Fleshing requires just the right amount of pressure in a smooth downward motion to remove flesh and membrane from the inside of the hide, but not so much as to put a hole in it. It

²¹ Lye in the form of potassium hydroxide [KOH] can be made from wood ash. Sodium hydroxide (NaOH) can also be used.

²² I later found that I should have stirred the hide better while it was soaking in the lye solution to get better coverage. Because I did not, hair scraped off easily in some areas, but not in others.

²³ N.B. this was during cold-weather months.

²⁴ In the best-case scenario, one would remove most of the flesh immediately after skinning the *atoh*.

is helpful to keep in mind that the hide is thickest around the neck of the *atoh* and thinnest around the stomach. The wet hair makes the hide heavy, and dehairing can be a tedious process. Underneath the hair are several layers of epidermis that would need to be completely removed if brain-tanning the hide.²⁵ For this project I removed the hair and the top layer of epidermis, which has a darker color and spongier texture than the skin underneath it.



Illustration Appendix A.2: Dehairing the *atoh* hide, Photo 1



Illustration Appendix A.3: Dehairing the *atoh* hide, Photo 2



Illustration Appendix A.4: Dehairing the *atoh* hide, Photo 3

²⁵ Brain-tanning is a process that produces exceptionally soft leather, whereby the oils in the brains of an animal are used to tan the hide.

Soaking, Stretching, and Drying

Once the hide is fleshed and de-haired, it is soaked for approximately twenty-four hours in a body of fresh running water. Swift running creeks are best because they help thoroughly cleanse the hide. Ponds and stagnant water should be avoided as they do not cleanse the hide as well and can also invite snapping turtles and other animals to take bites out of the hide. If no running bodies of water are available, a bathtub with running water or bucket with running hose may be used. I submerged my hide in a moving lake, tying one end of a long piece of bailer twine to a piece of driftwood and the other end through a small hole on the leg of the hide. After twenty-four hours of soaking, the hide is much whiter and softer.



Illustration Appendix A.5: *Atoh* hide soaking in lake

One must then dry the hide, first by wringing the water out and next by hanging it up. Once water stops dripping from the hide, it should be stretched. I constructed a frame for this purpose from four pieces of wood. Ideally, I would have built a fire and used the heat to speed the drying process. Because of my apartment living at the time, I used my turtles' heat lamps, which worked quite well. First, I dried the center of the hide, while keeping the remaining parts

moist. Next, I folded in the hindquarters area. Then, I folded in the hide from the stomach area of the *atoh*. Lastly, I folded in the neck. I allowed the hide to dry for approximately one hour between folds.



Illustration Appendix A.6: *Atoh* hide hanging to dry excess water

Drum Stick and Finishing Touches

After the drum is completely dry, lacing can be used to secure it. Drumsticks must also be carved. As with the drum, I modeled my drumstick after the one sketched in Harrington and painted it and the prayer sticks that I made red and black (Harrington 1921, 129). Harrington describes the symbolism of the drumstick's construction:

The carved heads on the drumsticks meant that human beings were giving thanks; the lengthwise painting of the sticks, half black and half red, implied that men and women were together in thanksgiving, the black representing the warriors, the red the women. The fork at the striking end of the sticks was to give a sharper sound. The dyes for producing the colors were made by boiling bark, the black being soft maple and the red, red alder bark. (Harrington 1921, 140-1)

He also describes use of the prayer sticks. “If anyone in the crowd felt 'especially happy' he was privileged to strike with one of these sticks upon one of the poles in time to the music”

(Harrington 1921, 140-1).



Illustration Appendix A.7: Completed Delaware Skin Drum with drumbeater and prayersticks

Conclusions

The project of constructing a Delaware Skin Drum was in many ways an experiment because I had to rely on related knowledge to accomplish something new. For example, I used my knowledge of fleshing and dehairing hides to make brain-tanned leather; I also used my knowledge of stretching beaver hides when stretching the hide on the frame, except instead of stretching it into an oval shape I stretched it into a square. I know from similar experience that processes such as this take a long time to perfect and there are probably multiple ways one can go about doing them. In the situation of not having someone to teach this knowledge first-hand, I did my best to recreate how the process may have been conducted. It is only through continued practice and praxis that I will be able to master this process in the future.

Through creating a Skin Drum, I developed a better appreciation for the traditional ecological knowledge needed for the process and the variable factors it relies on, such as a successful *atoh* hunt. Construction of the *pohwuniikan* makes much more sense in light of the sound the Delaware aimed to produce, which is a short, loud, percussive sound. Hearing the

sound of my own Skin Drum also explains Iroquois reproduction of the sound, which is very close to the original.

APPENDIX B

Discography

Dissertation Examples

The following recordings are examples used for analysis and discussion in this dissertation.

Example 1: Art Johnson and Lyle Anderson; *Iroquois Social Songs - Volume 2*; 24 minutes 12 seconds

Example 2: George Buck, Raymond Spragge, Jacob E. Thomas; *Iroqrafts- Social Dance Songs*; 6 minutes 5 seconds

Example 3: Kyle Dowdy and Bill Crouse; *Allegany Singers: Earth Songs, Volume 2*; 7 minutes 21 seconds

Example 4: Sheldon Sundown & Others; *Smoke Dance Old Style*; 6 minutes 57 seconds

Additional Recorded Resources

The following table includes additional recorded resources. Although many of the recordings are not commercially available, they are held by Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage, a nonprofit organization based on Six Nations of the Grand River in Ontario, Canada that works to preserve Iroquois language and songs.²⁶

²⁶ See <http://www.ohwejagehka.com/>.

Table Appendix B.1: Additional Recorded Resources

Group/Lead Singer(s)	Album	Place of Recording	Date	Length
Allegheny River Singers; Bill Crouse	<i>Social Dance Songs of the Iroquois</i>	Rochester, NY	1998	5:05
Alvis Thompson & Norman Jimerson	N/A	Social Dance after “Sing”	1987	13:36
Art Johnson	N/A	-	-	13:06
Art Johnson & Lyle Anderson	N/A	Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, ON - Orientation Room by Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage	1998	18:04
Bill Crouse	N/A	Schemitzun Powwow, Hartford, CT	-	1:45
Cam Hill	N/A	Six Nations, ON	-	8:50
Hubert ‘Chief’ Cusick	N/A	Six Nations, ON	c. early 1970s	9:29
Kyle Dowdy & Lyle Anderson	N/A	Social Dance after “Sing”	-	16:55
Six Nations Singers; Hubert Buck Sr.	N/A	Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, ON	c. 1977	6:04
Steve Henhawk	N/A	Steve Henhawk’s “Carving Shack,” Six Nations, ON	1996	13:15
Steve Henhawk & Guy Williams	N/A	Woodland Cultural Centre, Brantford, ON - Orientation Room by Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage	1996	15:36
Tonawanda Singers; Sheldon Sundown, Frasier Phillips, Lyle Anderson, Gary Parker	<i>Iroquois Social Dance Songs - Volume 1</i>	House near Ohwejagehka: Ha`degaenage	-	19:10

APPENDIX C

Glossary of Munsee Delaware Terms

The double vowel system spelling of Munsee Delaware words in this glossary conforms to the orthography used in the *Delaware-English/ English-Delaware Dictionary* by John O'Meara, which is the system used by the Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheshkoolhaaluweesak Eehakehkiingeewaniikaan and most Munsee Delaware language learners.²⁷ Glen Jacobs of the Delaware First Nation at Moraviantown, my elder language instructor, helped me extensively with the Munsee language used in this dissertation. I also referenced the *Ehaaptoonaat Pambiil* (Course Booklet) for the Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheshkoolhaaluweesak Eehakehkiingeewaniikaan, written by Glen Jacobs and Bruce Stonefish (2005), in developing this glossary.

Table Appendix C.1: Munsee Delaware Pronunciation Guide

LONG VOWEL	MUNSEE	TRANSLATION	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
ii	Paki <u>in</u> juw	Plate	k <u>nee</u>
oo	K <u>oon</u>	Snow	p <u>ost</u>
aa	Xa <u>a</u> sh	Eight	f <u>a</u> ther
ee	Ne <u>e</u> ka	His/Her	<u>a</u> t (but longer)
SHORT VOWEL			
i	Ti <u>h</u> tuyaak	Ring	<u>i</u> t
o	Mo <u>h</u> kw	Blood	g <u>o</u>
a	Sha <u>k</u> iinootay	Bag	s <u>u</u> n
e	Ke <u>p</u>	Cap	me <u>t</u>
u	Eemhwaan <u>u</u> s	Spoon	<u>u</u> s

CONSONANT	MUNSEE	TRANSLATION	ENGLISH EQUIVALENT
g	Waap <u>a</u> nge	Tomorrow	<u>g</u> et
zh	Maan <u>z</u> haapuy	Necklace	plea <u>s</u> ure
x	Mo <u>x</u> a	Really, very	Ba <u>ch</u> (German pronun.)

²⁷ Unami Delaware words cited in supporting sources are not included here.

Word Class Abbreviations

na	animate noun
ni	inanimate noun
vai	intransitive verb with animate subject
vii	intransitive verb with inanimate subject
vta	transitive verb with animate subject
vti	transitive verb with inanimate object
pc	particle

(O'Meara 1996, xiv)

Each entry begins with the headword followed by its word class and translation.

Delaware words and sentences are written in bold type. The syllable where stress is placed is underlined in bold type. Secondarily stressed syllables are underline in regular type.

<u>A</u>ahaas	na	crow
<u>A</u>apulush	na	apple
Aapulushahkw	na	apple tree
<u>A</u>lawi^w	vai-s	hunt
<u>A</u>t^h	na	deer
Awas<u>a</u>hkameew	pc	heaven
Kiinan<u>z</u>hiikan	ni	sharp knife
Kiisheelum<u>k</u>weengw	vta	the Creator, he who created us (conj.)
<u>K</u>ohpii	pc	forest, in the bush
<u>K</u>ulaxe^{xi}in	vai	listen
<u>K</u>undkeew	vi	dance, be dancing
<u>K</u>wsha^hteew	ni	tobacco
Laaweewap<u>o</u>oshiih	na	wildcat
<u>L</u>unuw	na	man
Luna<u>a</u>peew	na	Indian, Delaware Indian
<u>M</u>ahta	pc	no
<u>M</u>axkeew	vii	be red
<u>M</u>axksuw	vai	be red
<u>M</u>axkw	na	bear
Meemaxk<u>o</u>hkwees	na	red-headed woodpecker
<u>M</u>eengweew	na	Oneida Indian
Meengweew<u>i</u>hkeew	vii	Oneida Town, Ontario
Meenih<u>l</u>ahtiit	ni	the ones that are not living
Mehmeengwe<u>e</u>wuw	vai	speak Oneida
<u>M</u>ehmeew	na	woodcock
Mooshk<u>i</u>ingwus	na	rabbit
<u>M</u>oxkaweew	vta	find s.o., find s.t. animate
Naxk<u>o</u>ohumeew	vai	sing

Nihlatohweew	vai	kill a deer
Nihlaxkweew	vai	kill a bear
Nihliimaxkweew	vai	kill a bear
Nzukeew	vii	be black
Nzuksuw	vai	be black
Oxkweew	na	woman
Pahpahkuw	na	grouse
Peeteelham	vai	makes tracks coming toward the speaker
Piiskeew	vii	be night
Pohameew	vai	be drumming
Pohwunikan	ni	drum
Puleew	na	turkey
Pumaawsihitiit	na	the ones that are living
Pxwiineew	vta	skin s.t. animate
Shuwanakw	na	White man
Shuweeka	pc	Six Nations, Ontario
Tihtus	na	woodpecker
Thahkameew	vii	be a cold day
Wak	pc	and
Waapalaneew	na	bald eagle
Waapan	vii	be dawn
Wiineew	vii	be snowing
Wiixcheew	na	wolf
Xay	na	hide, skin
Xwachii-meemaxkohkwees	na	pileated woodpecker
Xwanzhikan	ni	big knife, the United States

Atohak kawitiit	Where the deer sleep
Atohuchuy	Deer scat
Kiiloowa ha kuneewaawu atoh?	Do you (plural) see a deer?
Kwuneewi-piske-niipaahum	Long Night Moon (December)
Linooweexum atohung	Buck, male deer
Lunaapeewiixsihtiit Sheeshkoolhaalaweesak	The Lunaape Speakers Teacher's
Ehakehkiingewaniikaan	Academy
Lunaapeew xayii-kundkeew	Delaware Skin Dance
Miisingw	Keeper of the game
Miitkwung wiilaawanal siikwiixunool.	He's rubbing his horns against the tree.
Nunamun	I recognize it
Ooxkweexum atohung	Doe, female deer
Pehpohamaat	Drummer
Pehpohwuniikeet	Drummer

(Jacobs, Glen and Bruce Stonefish 2005; O'Meara 1996; Jacobs 2011)

The following terms are examples from various languages that relate to the Delaware Skin Dance:

Ganéhwa' e:'	skin dance (Woodland Cultural Centre 1996)	Cayuga
Gunistongehéh	skin dance (Jimerson 2010)	Seneca
Kané:wa?	Leather/hide (Honyust 2010)	Oneida
Kane?wa:e	stretch hide or leather (Honyust 2010)	Oneida
Lunaapeew xayii-kundkeew	Delaware Skin Dance (Jacobs 2011)	Munsee Delaware

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